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FOREWORD

Indian history is replete with names of great men and women who have given new dimensions to the life and thought of the people and an impetus to the process of welding into one unified whole a multi-racial and multi-lingual society. Amir Khusrau's is one such illustrious name. There is hardly an Indian who has not heard of him. For the man with sophistication as well as for the common man, Khusrau's sayings and lyrics are a thing of beauty and a joy for ever.

To assess this great Indian's multi-faceted personality is indeed a difficult task. Khusrau is so many persons rolled into one—poet, musician, historian, linguist, and above all, a messenger of secularism and national unity.

This book makes a modest attempt to bring to the reader some aspects of Khusrau's personality from the pen of scholars who have specialised in the subject. Some overlapping has been unavoidable in this work with scripts from different authors. However, whichever way one turns, the charming many-splendoured personality of Amir Khusrau always comes to the fore.

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شعرا حضرت خواجه امیر خسرو دهلوی رحمت الله علیه

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Importance of Amir Khusrau

Abul Hasan Yaminuddin Khusrau or Amir Khusrau was born in Patiali in the district of Etah, Uttar Pradesh, in *Shavval* 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.).

His father Amir Saifuddin Mahmood migrated to India from the city of Kush, presently Shehr-e-Sabz, in Central Asia, on the borders of the Tajik and Uzbek Republics of USSR, and married the daughter of an Indian nobleman, Imad-ul-Mulk. Amir Khusrau was proud of his lineage as a "Turk-e-Hindustani", and tradition credits him with knowledge of Turkish, Arabic, Persian and the vernaculars of northern India, the Khari Boli, (Urdu and Hindi both being developed forms of it), Brij Bhasha and Avadhi. It was during his stay in Awadh, Delhi and Punjab that he learned these northern languages. He also learned Sanskrit which he placed before all other languages, except Arabic, the language of his religion.

He was a born poet and started his poetic activity when only nine. He also knew and practised the music of Central Asia, and mastered the art of Indian music as well. He inherited from his father not only an honourable place in the society of the day and a high status at the royal court but also the tradition of respect for Sufis and men of piety. This explains his unbounded love and devotion for Hazrat Nizamuddin of Delhi. Both lived in a period of turmoil and intolerance; both represented and taught a humanism which rose above the conflicts of the age; both sought and found a spirituality above the confines of narrow orthodoxy. While Hazrat Nizamuddin brought to bear on his thought and expression a philosophical profundity, Amir Khusrau brought to bear on his the graces of devotional poetry and music. Both were mystics of a high order, the one rising to saintliness, the other following him.

Amir Khusrau symbolises a link between the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia, Pakistan and India. In India he represented a confluence of the two predominant cultures, enriching

their music, in song and instrument, with innovations such as the qavvali, qaul, tarana and the sitar. His Persian ghazals are still sung and memorised in Russian Turkistan, Iran and our own sub-continent, while his verses in Hindavi-Hindustani, combining the rhythm and rhyme of the classics with the charm and cadence of folksongs, have become a part of the Indian heritage, recited and sung by men, women and children all over the north as part of the lore of the people.

His devotional verse and song also inspired the thoughts and words of some of the great spiritual leaders of India who followed, like Guru Nanak, Kabir, Sant Nam Dev, Waris Shah and Abdul Latif, who in turn have inspired generations of Indians and brought people of different faiths closer to each other in the embrace of a spiritual unity.

The writings of Amir Khusrau are of immense value to us historically as well. Living in the capital of the Sultanate, Delhi, and associated since his youth with the reigning kings and princes, Khusrau witnessed historic events and was himself present in some of the military campaigns. There are many works in which he has described these and the contemporary political events and social life of the times. These writings form a valuable source of authentic history of the period in which he lived.

He died in Delhi in *Zeeqad* 725 AH (1325 A.D.). The precise dates are not known for certain.

Amir Khusrau and India

S. B. P. NIGAM

The versatile and varied nature of Amir Khusrau's prose and poetical compositions has always fascinated scholars devoted to the history and culture of the Delhi Sultanate. Although at present we do not have more than a dozen works of Amir Khusrau, many contemporary and later biographers of the poet testify unequivocally that he was a voluminous writer. Zia-ud-din Barni, a friend of Amir Khusrau, has pointed out that the poet had written a whole library of works. Another reliable authority, Amir Khurd, the author of the *Siyaru'l-Auliya*, says that Amir Khusrau wrote about ninetynine works but he did not list them. Bulk of his books have apparently been lost. Some of his works mentioned in the introduction to his diwan *Ghurratu'l-Kamal* were very popular in the lifetime of the poet, according to his own testimony, but so far no trace of these has come to light nor there appears any likelihood of their discovery.

Although by descent the great poet belonged to a family of Turks who had migrated to India from the west during the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish 607-34 A.H. (1210-36 A.D.) and was brought up in the traditional style of Muslim education prevalent in the thirteenth century, the poet was a great patriot and lover of India. In the introduction to his famous masnawi *Nuh-Sipihr* he calls India his birthplace and motherland:

.هست مرا مولد و مادی وطن

The poet is never tired of praising this land. He argues that patriotism has been described in a Hadis of Prophet Muhammad as an essential ingredient of religion:

حب وطن هست ز ایمان بیقین

In one of the verses of the above masnawi he calls India as a virtual paradise on earth and gives seven reasons for his claim:

کشور هندست بهشتی بزمیں   حجتش اینک برخ صفحه ببیں
حجت ثابت چو دراں نیست شکی   هفت بگویم بدرستی نه یکی

He goes on to account these reasons in the third chapter of the *Nuh-Sipihr.* First, man having been discarded from paradise by God descended in this country Second, the peacock, which according to Islamic mythology was a bird belonging to paradise, was found in this country Third, it is related that although the snake also descended from paradise on earth along with the peacock but it was not allotted this land because it was his nature to bite living beings. Fourth, when Adam left India the days were near for Eve to deliver a child but he could not get medicines for her to relieve her of the great ordeal Fifth, although the city of Damascus is famous for its vegetation and good climate yet Adam chose India as his country because here he found suitable atmosphere and climate which was very much like that in paradise Sixth, although the country is inhabited by adherents of another faith, it has all the charms and happiness of paradise This is not so, as far as the inhabitants of other regions of the world are concerned. And last, being virtually a paradise on earth a good Muslim can enjoy paradise during his lifetime, rather than after death.

In fact the poet was never tired of showering praises on his motherland whenever he got an opportunity to write about it In a letter which he wrote from Awadh (modern Ayodhya) to one of his friends in Delhi, Taj-ud-din Zahid, he praises the climate and the city of Awadh He says, "The city of Awadh is undoubtedly a lovely country but in your absence I do not like anything The city is in fact a garden where people live in great peace and tranquility. Its land is an ornament to the world and pleasure abounds in the surrounding country The river Sarayu flows by it the sight of which quenches the thirst of beholders. All necessary requisites of happiness are present here in abundance. Flowers and wine are available in profusion. In gardens the branches of trees abound with fruits. Grapes, sour apples, oranges and scores of varieties of fruit trees bearing Indian names, sweet and tasteful *e.g.* bananas and mangoes, are elixir to human mind.

Evergreen flowers blossom in the gardens and the atmosphere is full of the sweet or melancholy sounds of singing birds." [1]

A unique feature of Amir Khusrau's writings about India is that he does not suffer from the customary prejudice of Muslim authors of the time. Although he does not agree with the main tenets of Hindu religion and customs, he shows a deep sense of

appreciation of this ancient culture About the inhabitants of Awadh, the bulk of whom belonged to Hindu religion, he says, "All the residents of this place are renowned for their hospitality, pleasant manners, good and amicable nature, faithfulness and breadth of vision The rich and the poor alike are happy and satisfied and remain busy in their occupations " [2]

In connection with 'Ala-ud-din's conquest of Warangal, the poet praises the great and historic city of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad) He says, "When the royal forces reached Devagiri they beheld a lofty city which in freshness and bounty was greater than the fort of Shaddad Every marketplace looked like a garden where goldsmiths and sellers of precious stones, great and small were sitting with their hoards of Achchus (copper coin then current in the south), silver and gold coins Cloth of every variety which was not available anywhere in India from Bihar to Khurasan, were piled up in shops They were in a variety of gorgeous colours like flowers of roses and jasmine in a garden Sweet fragrant fruits of all sorts and varieties were lying stalked in shops The soldiers of the army could buy commodities of varied nature like clothes of cotton, wool and leather and wearing armours made up of iron and brass " [3] In a long poem contained in the *Nihayatu'l-Kamal* the poet praises the city of Devagiri, its fruits, cloth and musicians [4] That is apparently no exaggeration for the poet had heard many lofty stories about the city and personally knew many distinguished persons of that region

Any account of Amir Khusrau's patriotism will be incomplete if it did not take any notice of his love for the capital city of Delhi At that time it was not only the capital of the Turkish empire in India but also a place of learning where scholars from India and abroad flocked together and composed works of everlasting interest on a bewildering variety of subjects Amir Khusrau was a great literary luminary of the age and was associated with the kings and nobles since the prime of his life. He had passed a major period of his life there and naturally he was full of praise for this city In the introduction to his first historical masnawi, the *Qiranu's-Sa'dain,* he gives a graphic description of this great city of which the poet was justifiably proud He says, "Delhi is famous the world over for being the centre of Islam and its justice It is like a paradise in the world It can very well be compared to the garden of Aram in Paradise Even the holy city of Mecca becomes its eulogist when it hears

the greatness of Delhi. On account of its grandeur it has become the centre of Islam. It is situated in a hilly country. Gardens surround it for two miles and the river Yamuna flows nearby. There are three cities of Delhi. Two were old and the third one is new. By old Delhi is meant the old fort and the boundary wall of the city and new Delhi is the newly founded city of Kilokhari near the river Yamuna."[5] After giving this short geographical description the poet goes on to describe the inhabitants of Delhi, the Jam'i Mosque, the Qutb Minar, Hauzi-i-Shamsi, climate and vegetation, and the newly constructed fort of Kilokhari by Sultan Mu'iz-ud-din Kaiqubar.[6]

After *Qiranu's-Sa'dain*, Khusrau's next work was his famous collection of poems known as the *Ghurratu'l-Kamal*. This collection composed in 693 A.H. (1293 A.D.) during the reign of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji (689-95 A.H.) (1290-95 A.D.), contains about ninety qasidas, nine masnawis and many ruba'is. But its greatest value lies in the autobiographical notices which Khusrau has left to posterity. Since he was a great linguist and knew Arabic, Hindi and Sanskrit, besides Persian, he has left a very useful account which is of considerable philological interest. He says in the introduction to this diwan that he was well versed in the Hindi language and that he had also composed a diwan in that language which was very popular. Unfortunately this collection is now lost and we cannot form a fair idea of his Hindi poetry.

The intellectual superiority of the people of India in general and those of Delhi in particular is clearly brought out in the following passage of his brilliant introduction to the *Ghurratu'l-Kamal*. He says, "The learned people of India and particularly those of Delhi are much superior to their counterparts in other countries. When the natives of Arabia, Khurasan and Turkistan come to this country they speak their own languages and are able to compose poetry in their own mother tongue. But when the people of India and specially those resident in Delhi go to foreign countries they are able to recite poems in the language of those places. Although the people of this country have not been to Arabia but they recite Arabic poems so successfully that such clarity is wanting even among the Arabians. Many Tajiks and Turks of India have been educated in this country but they speak Persian with such ease that even the people belonging to Khurasan stand aghast." Amir Khusrau goes on to add that although Persian is the native language of Iran but in that country

clarity of diction is confined to the region of Mawara'un-nahr but elsewhere Persian is spoken in the same way as it is in India In fact the Khurasans cannot pronounce many words of the Persian language correctly *e g* they call چه as چی and کجا as کجو Persian is the lingua franca of India which is understood from Sindh to South India

Amir Khusrau is most eloquent and zealous in proving the greatness of India in the third chapter of the *Nuh-Sipihr,* which he composed in 718 A H (1318 A D) and dedicated to the then ruling monarch, Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah 716-720 A H (1316-1320 A D) The poet justifies his love for India in the following words "I have praised India for two reasons Firstly, because it is my birthplace and my country Patriotism itself is a great religion Secondly, because Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah is the king of this country India is like a paradise The climate of this country is far better than that of Khurasan The people do not suffer much if the winter season is severe If the people of Khurasan criticise the hot season of this country, then I would reply that the hot season harms the people very little but the winter season takes away a heavy toll of life Here people can pass the nights with a blanket or sheet of cloth The Brahmins conveniently take a dip in the river at the end of the night Many pass on their nights under a tree or a small room Greenery of nature thrives throughout the year and flowers blossom in every season The guavas and grapes of this country are matchless Mangoes, bananas, pepper, camphor, cardamom grow in abundance India is specially famous for many dry fruits which are not found in any other country The betal leaf cultivated here has no comparison of its sort elsewhere in the world "[7]

In the contemporary hagiological and historical works of the Sultanate period there is a lamentable lack of objectivity and fairness in describing the inhabitants of the land Uncomplimentary references to them abound in books written at the time such as *Taju'l-Maathir, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Ta'rikh-i-Kahru'd-din Mubarak Shah* and *Ta'rikh-i-Firuzshahi* Court poets and panegyrists of the Sultans often used odious epithets for the people But Amir Khusrau stands apart from them when he engages in describing achievements of the people of India in the realm of science or literature By long association with them and a study of their literature he had developed great respect for their culture For

example, Amir Khusrau says "Except jurisprudence, books on all branches of this country are like Aristotle in learning In logic, astrology, mathematics and physical sciences the scholars of India are much advanced Very learned Brahmins are found here but nobody has taken any advantage of their deep knowledge with the result that they are very little known in other countries I have tried to learn something from them and therefore I understand their importance In spiritual science the Hindus have given up the right path but exeept for Muslims other races are also like them Although they do not follow our religion yet many principles of their religion are akin to ours They believe in one supreme God They think that God is capable of creating anything out of nothing i e Zero They consider God as the supreme lord of all articles and living beings —man or animal. They think that all good and bad acts originate from God He is the knower of all things Thus the Brahmins are far superior to the sceptics, Christians, fire-worshippers and unbelievers Although they worship stones, sun, animals and trees, they believe that all these objects have been created by God They regard it only as a symbol of God They do not consider themselves as subordinate to these animate objects. They say that this mode of worship has been prevalent among them since hoary antiquity which they are unable to discard."[8]

The second half of the third chapter of *Nuh-Sipihr* is however most informative and, therefore, most important for it is here that Amir Khusrau is at his best in praising India He points out ten reasons for the superiority of this country over others. Firstly, learning and education is found in every part of this country. People of other countries are not even aware of the vast ocean of knowledge present here. Secondly, the people of India can speak all languages very correctly and fluently whereas people of other countries cannot speak the languages of India with fluency and correctness. The natives of Khita like Mongols, Turks and Arabians cannot converse in the Hindi language but Indians can easily do so in foreign languages. This is a clear proof of the ability of the Indians and the drawback of the foreigners. Thirdly, foreigners constantly come to India in search of learning and knowledge but no Brahmin ever went to learn in a foreign country. This fact is well known to every body that Abu

Ma'ashar who was a great astrologer came to India and having lived in the ancient city of Varanasi he learnt that science for ten years Whatever he has written, he has written after learning it from the Hindus Fourthly, the science of numbers which is called *hindsa* (هندسه) in Arabic was born here The knowledge of zero was first known to the Hindus No branch of mathematics can be complete without zero The word *hindsa* itself is composed of two words 'Hind' i e India and 'Asa' which was the name of the Brahmin who introduced the digits The Greeks also learnt this science from the Hindus All philosophers are thus disciples of this Hindu but he is not a disciple of others Fifthly, the great book of knowledge *viz Kalila wa Dimna* was composed in India It was translated into other languages of the West like Arabic, Turkish, Persian, etc Sixthly, the game of chess was also invented in India Nobody can play chess better than the Indians Seventhly, *hindsa, Kalila wa Dimna* and chess was learnt by foreigners from the Hindus Eightly, the music of this country is unbeaten throughout the world Ninthly, the Indian music not only moves the hearts of men but it has effect on animals also And, lastly, the greatness of India is testified by the fact that Amir Khusrau, the greatest poet of the court of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, hails from India

Although some of the arguments advanced by Amir Khusrau to prove the superiority of his country over others may not hold good today but they certainly point to his deep patriotism and love for this country His father Amir Saif-ud-din Mahmud, had migrated to India during the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish but the poet completely forgot his foreign affiliations and antecedents and considered India as his true motherland Such an attitude can only develop from a correct and deep understanding of the spirit of Indian culture and the comprehension of the great values it stood for

Although Amir Khusrau was the court poet of many political giants of his age, yet he never remained away from the man in the street It will be more appropriate to call him the poet of the people He has fired the imagination of the people of India since generations but in the present age his secular ideas and tolerant attitude need to be emulated by all Indians irrespective of caste and creed.

(Courtesy: *Indo-Iranica*)

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7. M. Wahid Mirza, *Nuh-Sipihr*, (Aligarh, 1950), pp. 149-61.
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The first page of "Shirin wa Khusrau" of Amir Khusrau. Reportedly the oldest manuscript in India, it is dated 830 *A.H.* (1426 *A. D.*)

Courtesy: Kutub Khana Madarassa Mohammadi, Madras.

A Harbinger of Hindu-Muslim Culture

M. RAHMAN

دانی کہ ہستم در جہاں من خسرو شیریں زباں
گر نالی از بہر دلم بہر زباں من بیا

It is possible to dislike a poet. Men have been found able to do so. But it is impossible to do so in the case of a saint, a poet royal, a sufi who consecrates himself to the service of the highest Muses, who takes labour and intent study as his portion, and aspires himself to be a noble man. If ever an orphan rose to the pinnacle of glory as a sufi and poet royal, it was Amir Khusrau of Delhi. Amir Saif-ud-din Mahmud Shamsi, who was a noble of Lachin tribe of Turkey and a daring warrior in the court of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, could hardly dream that his son, being stripped of his paternal canopy at the age of eight,[1] would one day shine like pleiades amongst the galaxy of literary stars on the firmament of heaven. But as we know, God never takes away a blessing without compensating it with another Providence provided for him "Nature to be his tutor." His maternal grandfather, 'Imadu'l-Mulk, was the Defence Minister under Sultan Balban. He taught him Arabic and Persian and the art of calligraphy, no doubt, but the Nine Muses bestowed upon him the super quality of poetic genuis from the age of 12 that went to make him a prolific writer of outstanding merit. College or university would have been surely a smaller place for such an excellent intellectual of expanding character who had distinction stamped upon his brow. University, however, proves a disappointing place to the young and ingenuous soul, who goes there hoping that lectures will, by some occult process, initiate him into the mysteries of taste and store house of culture—these are merely hoped for but hardly found. Khusrau was always determined, whatever he was to be, he was to be his own man. He had friends, patrons and admirers, amongst high and low, to occupy his hours of relaxation due to the purity and daintiness of his life and conversation.

Followed by pomp and pageantry, Khusrau drove his chariot of spectacular glory, through songs and sonnets, hymn and ballad, to the royal chancellery of the Sultanate of Delhi Once he was sitting in the court of Bughra Khan, the son of Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, and a literary discourse was going on Khusrau recited his poem in such a melodious tune and rhythm of his own that the prince stood up in admiration and ordered a large tray-full of money to be handed over to the poet This incurred the displeasure of Chajju Khan (Katlu Khan), a patron of Khusrau Thus he was forced to join the court of Bughra Khan Some years after, he was invited by Sultan Muhammad Qa'an, the eldest son of Balban, to join his gallery of the illuminaries When Lahore was attacked by Taimur Khan at the behest of Arghun Khan, a descendant of Hilaku Khan, and the devastation and pillage advanced upto Multan, Sultan Muhammad Qa'an fought bravely but a spear proved fatal and he died Amir Khusrau and his friend Hasan Dehlavi were taken prisoners to Balkh by the Tartar. There Khusrau composed a heart-rending graphic elegy on the Sultan's death which, after his release two years later, when read out by him to Balban at Delhi, the entire court was plunged into mourning scene King Balban wept so bitterly that he was down with fever which ultimately led to his demise in 685 A H (1286 A D)

After him, Kaiqubad 686 89 A H (1287-90 A D), son of Bughra Khan, ascended the throne contrary to the royal wishes of Balban. This king indulged in luxuries and bower of concubines Bughra Khan marched from Bengal and faced his own son at Delhi At last a treaty of reconciliation was concluded and Kaiqubad returned to Delhi in peace On the request of the king, Khusrau composed a masnavi called *Quiranu's-Sa'dain* which means conjunction of two auspicious towering personalities (adverting to Bughra Khan and Kaiqubad).

Kaiqubad was succeeded by his minor son Kai-Kaus (689 A H) (1290 A D) but Malik Firuzshah made him captive and declared himself King of Delhi under the title of Jalal-ud-din Khalji 689-96 A H (1290-96 A.D) Amir Khusrau, who was given an honoured place in his court, recorded his conquest and achievements in another masnavi named, *Taju'l-Futuh*[2], Jala-ud-din was killed by his nephew, 'Ala-ud-din Khalji who in spite of stiff-heartedness, proved himself very soft towards men of letters, and Khusrau received special favour. It was during this period

that he wrote his famous *Panj-Ganj*[*] after the style of *Khamsah-i-Nizami*

(1) *Matla-ul-Anwar* 698 A H (1298 A D) against *Makhzanu'l-Asrar*
(2) *Shirin wa Khusrau* 698 A H (1298 A D) comprising 4124 couplets against *Khusrau wq Shirin* of Nizami
(3) *Majunun-wa-Laila,* comprising 2660 couplets, against *Laila-wa-Majnun* of Nizami
(4) *Ainah-i-Sikandari* 699 A H (1299 A D) comprising 4450 couplets, against *Sikandar-Namah* of Nizami
(5) *Hasht-Bihisht* 701 A H (1301 A D) comprising 3382 couplets, against *Haft-Paikar* of Nizami

In short, the Khalji rulers of India proved favourably suitable to his imagination of appreciation Khusrau embodied the qualities of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah Khalji's bravery in his famous work *Nuh-Sipihr* The king rewarded to him a sum equal to an elephant in weight Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq 720-26 A H (1320-25 A D), who followed the Khalji dynasty, tried to excel in patronising the poet Khusrau was so pleased that he wrote *Tughlaq Namah* for him containing the detailed account of his colourful reign

Besides, he versified the romance of Prince Khizr Khan, son of 'Alaud-din with Dawaldi Rani of Gujarat, their matrimonial alliance and the tragedy comprising 4200 warm lovely distiches of rare quality The book entitled *Dawal Rani wa Khizr Khan* 715 A H (1315 A.D) consists of 42 verses of Khizr Khan himself, according to the author of *Sanadid-i-Ajam* *Afzalu'l-Fawaid* is another book of Khusrau containing the letters of Nizam-ud-din Auliya Yet another book *I'jaz-i-Khusravi* on rhetoric was written by him in 719 A H (1319 A D)

It is interesting to note that the poet himself arranged and divided the volumes of his diwan with names during his life time They are as follows :

(a) *Tuhfata-al-Sighr* (تحفۃ الصغر) verses composed during 6-19 years of his age.
(b) *Wast-al-Hayat* (وسط الحیات) verses composed during 20-24 years of his age.
(c) *Ghurratu'l-Kamal* (غرۃ الکمال) verses composed during 34-44 years of his age

(d) *Baqiyya Naqiyya* (بقیہ نقیہ) verses composed upto 715 A H (1315 A D).

(e) *Nihayatul-Kamal* (نہایۃالکمال) composed upto 725 A H (1325 A D) the year when the poet died

Thus we see that his labour, his fame, and his enjoyment, continued till the end of his life He was an exception to what Johnson had written years before

"But mark what ills the Scholar's life assail
Toil, envy, want, the patron and the jail"

Poetry, at first, was an occupation of simple and pious people of saintly character Patronage and reward degenerated the art to its lowest ebb Writers in verse sprang up like mushrooms The ephemerals harboured ill will, envy and greed against one another This created the "Merry-Andrews," the Satirists. Anwari, Khaqani, Suzani, Watwat and Abu'l'ula indulged, intermittently, in throwing mud on one another Satirical compositions became so common that the society became full of lampoon Even the sobers, who pass at large as moral preceptor, could not keep themselves within the bound The *Gullistan*, Chapter V, and some anecdotes in the *Masnavi-i-Rumi* as well tended to become slum in a blissful bower of a rose garden Thanks to God that sufi poetry came into being at this critical juncture, and the filth was cleared by the joint efforts of Awhadi Maraghi, Awhadi Kirmani, Maghrabi and Amir Khusrau to make the vehicle of thought and expression decorous, polite and pious

Although Persian poetry in India began from the Ghuri period, yet its systematic history is established from the time of the Khaljis, and Amir Khusrau is the first Indian who started writing prose and verse in Persian and paved the way for the massive literary works, termed by our Iranian friends as "Indian Persian" Khusrau asserts in his diwan, *Ghurratu'l Kamal* that the purity of Persian had been lost in Iran, but not in India. This directly goes to prick the selfmade bubble of vanity of the Iranian purists, who are reluctant to admire the Persian writers of Indian origin. In his *Nuh-Sipihr*, Khusrau records the literary superiority of India in respect of the *Kalila-wa-Dimna*, compiled in India, which, when translated by an Arab scholar and presented to Ja'far Barmaki, the minister of Harun-al-Rashid, earned for the scholar

one lakh of dirhams It was the Arabic version of the *Kalila* that was introduced to the entire world through translations in various languages

The Persian world should realise that time and geography go to play a great part in moulding the growth and development of a language For example, go through the works of Ma'sud-i-Sad-i-Salman of the Punjab or Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* 558 A H (1162 A D), you will find the vivid signs of local influence, in respect of language, thought, culture, manners and religious terms in most appropriate form, and this is natural English literature of America is quite different from that of England or for that matter England, Scotland and Ireland are at daggers drawn even today A critical scholar is desired to weigh and examine materials of one place or country irrespective of the other, of the same period Because with the lapse of time, taste and trend undergo changes The language of the *Qabus Namah* and *Safar Namah* is not the same as that of *Bist Maqala* or *Chahar Maqala*, or the language and style of Faizi is not alike to that of Zuhuri Sa'ib mocks at 'Urfi, and Naziri laughs at them both

Anyway, Amir Khusrau was a born genius and a great harbinger of Hindu-Muslim culture The crowning glory of his character is unstinted affection and devotion to the various aspects of Indian life, people, religion, learning, arts and beauties of its myriad-sided lives But as a connoisseur of the art of music, he is regarded to have enjoyed a greater position than the celebrated Mian Tansen of Akbar's days As a linguist he had no parallel in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and Bhasha, as a poet his fame crossed the frontiers of India and Iran, as an artist he is the pioneer of classical music Shibli Nu'mani, in his *She'rul' Ajam* Vol II, declares that Khusrau, while improving the old tunes and metres, invented many new ones by blending Persian and Hindi rhyme and rhythm in such a fine way that they revolutionised the entire world of music The art reached such a height of perfection that even after the lapse of seven hundred years, it could not be excelled by any luxuriant brain

He invented Sitar, combining the Indian Vina and Iranian Tambura; Mridang was modified into Tabla, Khusrau felt jubilant in proclaiming that Indian music is unsurpassable It enkindles the heart, enlivens the soul and hypnotises the world His remark

on Indian music merits attentive consideration, for he is an acknowledged contributor to this art. He introduced a new melody, *Sazgari* by combining *Purvi Gauri, Kangli* and a Persian *rag;* an intermixture of *Khatrag* and *Shah-Naz* gave birth to *Zilaf,* and *Sazgari* by combining *Purvi Gauri, Kangli* and a Persian *rag*; an *'Ushshaq, Muwafiq* came into being when *Turi, Malwa, Dugah* and *Husaini* were intermixed.[5] Ustad Amir Khan, the well known musician, observed that Khusrau invented various forms and patterns of songs in music called *talbana, qaul, naqsh gul, tarana* and *khayal.*

His versatile scholarship and vernal intelligence visualised that a language, to serve the purpose, must go to touch the masses. In a country like India where each province has a different language and peculiar dialect of its own, a common and easy medium for communication was the crying need to preserve unity. With this objective in view, he composed a large number of couplets, quibbles, enigmas, punning verses with mixed vocabularies of Persian and Hindi Brijbhasha. Many "dohas" and songs generally sung by women folk in sonorous voices, directly come from Khusrau. It was he who popularised the "use of Persian rhymes in Hindi poetry and showed the way for a synthesis of Persian and Hindi." His efforts in this direction tended to liberate Hindi from the influence of Prakrit and *Aphransa,* making Hindi simple that led ultimately to the birth of a new language called Urdu. Eminent scholars and Hindi writers appreciated this move and Guru Ramanand, his disciple Kabirdas, Surdas, Guru Nanak Sahib, Malik Muhammad Ja'isi, Baba Tulsidas—all accommodated Arabic and Persian words in their productions of high ethical and literary value.

Persian and Brijbhasha were blended in ghazals by Khusrau, basically, in pursuance of his mission to bring the two great communities of India closer by promoting linguistic and cultural relations. Relish the admixture of the two languages in Khusrawi style:

رحال مسکیں مکس تغافل ورائے نیا سائے بتیاں
کہ تاب ہجراں ندارم اے جاں' نہ لیہو کاہے لگائے چھتیاں
سساں ہجراں درازچوں زلف و روز وصلت چو عمر کوتاہ
سکھی پیا کو جو میں نہ دیکھوں تو کیسے کاٹوں اندھیری رتیاں
یکایک از دل دو چشم جادو بصد فریبم ببرد تسکیں
کسے پڑی ہے جو سا وے پیارے پی کو ہماری بتیاں
چو شمع سوزاں چو ذرہ حیراں ہمیشہ گریاں بہ عشق آں مہ
نہ نیند نیناں نہ انگ چیناں نہ آپ آویں نہ بھیجیں بتیاں
بحق روز وصال دلبر کہ داد مارا فریب خسرو
سپیت من کے ورائے راکھوں جو جائے پاؤں پیا کی گھتیاں

Do not be unmindful of my misery while weaving tales by blandishing your eyes, my patience has overbrimmed, O my sweetheart! Why do you not take me to your bosom?

Long like curls is the night of separation, and short like life is the day of our union, My dear! How can I pass the dark dungeon night without your face before me.

By a sudden slide, with thousand tricks, the enchanting eyes robbed me of the peace of mind, who shall bother to report this matter to my darling thither?

Tossed and bewildered, like a flickering candle, I roam about in fire of love, sleepless sights, restless life, neither personal contact nor any message!

In honour of the day of access to my beloved who lured me so long, O Khusrau! I shall keep my feeling suppressed if ever I get a chance to get at her trick

Khusrau's Masnavi *Khaliq-Bari* is an admixture of Persian and Hindi containing enigmas, puns and quibbles specially meant for the commoners to enjoy. The riddle on mirror deserves special attention.

فارسی بولی آئینہ   ترکی سوچی پائی نا
ہندی بولتے آرسی آئے   منہ دیکھو جو اسے بتائے

Mark the word آئینہ (mirror) which, in speaking, sounds like آئی + نا (did not come); when read together it becomes آئینہ. Read attentively and enjoy the construction. Similarly the riddle on

"nail," if it is read together it sounds as ناخون and when separated it becomes نا + خون It leads to confusion if read in hurry, and the main point is missed.

بیسوں کا سر کاٹ لیا   نا مارا نا خوں کیا

Another important invention of Khusrau is مکرنی that needs deep brain-exercise before hitting at the meaning As for example, on "lamp," he gives out the following

سگری رین موہے سنگ جاگا   بھور بھئی جب بچھڑن لاگا
اس کی بچھڑے پھاٹت ہیا   اے سکھی ساجن نا سکھی دیا

Awaken he was with me whole night,
At dawn at last, set out to part
My heart groans in his separation,
It may be the husband, no dear "light."

Once Khusrau saw a beautiful Brahmin lad, in Gujarat, chewing "pan" (betel) and the red spittle was oozing out The poet's imaginative mind at once caught the lyrical cord of stricking character:

ہندو بچہ مگر عجب حسن دھرت ہے   ہنگام سخن گفتن مکھ پھول جھڑت ہے
گفتم کہ بیا بر لب تو بوسہ بگیرم   گفتا کہ ارے رام دھرم نشٹ کرت ہے

Paradise smiles on the ruby lips,
Flowers out-blooms on angelic face,
His wanton talk or blushful cheeks,
Are nothing but a heavenly grace,
"Let me caress your lips," I said,
"My God ! the creed will harm," he said

Thus toiling and traversing the dreary path of a reformer through his mass appealing literary composition, Khusrau tried his best, and perhaps successfully, to bring mankind of diverse creed and clime closer He believed in Pantheism همہ اوست (All is He) and did not fail to appreciate the brighter aspects of any religion. Throughout his chequered career, he tried and worked for the people of the land he lived in. So he gave a great lesson to us. Like a devoted Muslim, he stuck to his religious belief and never

sneered at others' religious convictions. Yet he was admired and held in great esteem by all, irrespective of caste and creed. Centuries have elapsed since he died, but the memory of this great disciple of Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya, is annually cherished by thousands of his devotees at his shrine in Delhi where he lies buried at the feet of his great religious preceptor:

زمدح تست درطبع ودل وکلک وخط خسرو
ہنر مضمون، شکر معجون، در مکنون، گہر مضمون

Precious pearls and hidden gems.
Float amid the skillful theme.
Ode on the, when sits to pen,
Khusrau's heart leaps unseen,
Zephyr's hive of hoarded sweets,
Flows through his pen to meet.

(Courtesy: *Indo-Iranica*)

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A Great Indian Patriot

SHUJAAT ALI SANDILVI

From time immemorial India, the epitome of the world, produced rishis and munis, spiritual heads and saints, savants and thinkers, teachers and philosophers, and literary figures and poets of high repute. This sacred soil raised original thinkers who reached the pinnacle of glory in individuality and matchlessness. Iqbal has truly expressed this:

> The very eyes of the moon and stars find
> Light from the soil, such a soil it is
> That every particle is a pearl of purity of this land
> This land has raised such diverse into
> The ocean of wisdom that find stormy ocean
> easy to cross.

Amir Khusrau was remarkable in originality as well as in the depth of his thoughts. He dived so deep that he has been placed among those who occupy the front rank, in ability and original production. He was an embodiment of knowledge and originality. His universal and attractive personality won the hearts of the common people as well as that of chiefs of high social order, of the low and high, of the poor and oppulent, of libertines and men of piety and of Hindus and Muslims alike. Kings and rulers wielding power and rank bowed before him in respect and took pride in his person. His lasting melodies, musical words and luscious ballads produce ecstatic effect upon hearers. His poetry is a treasure-house of mysticism and inspiration. His Hindi expression is the "alluring idol of love" and spiritual excellence. Hundreds of years have passed, still its freshness continues and it loses not its charm.

This worthy son of the Indian soil was born in the 13th century A.D. at Mominpura (Patiali) in Etah district, Uttar Pradesh. It is related that his father Amir Saifuddin Mahmood took the infant, wrapped in a cloth, to a Sufi of high spiritual standing. The Sufi cast his eyes upon the child and remarked "This child will be God-inspired and unique in his age. His name will last till doomsday and surpass Khaqani". Thus he blessed

the child to grow up a popular and a loving figure The prophesy of the saint came true The child grew and turned to be God-knowing, not only an unique one but was a master of the sword as well as of the pen His sweet poesy and warbling notes have earned him the title of "Tuti-i-Hind"— a warbling finch of India Amir Saifuddin Mahmood took him after four years to Delhi from Patiali and made the best arrangements for his education and moral training

He was only nine when his loving father died At this sad event whatever filled his heart, found spontaneous expression in this couplet

> My river flowed on, the door was left half open
> Sword passed over my head, and sadness overtook
> my heart

After the demise of his father, Khusrau's maternal grandfather took charge of the boy Nawab Imadul Mulk paid special attention towards his education and training He was an Amir of great respect and influence Great scholars and Ulemas were attached to his person Fortunately the great saint Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, Mehboob Ilahi, was staying at the Amir's residence He had the good fortune to live and move in such a pious and inspiring atmosphere The grandfather's attitude and the pure surroundings heightened Khusrau's innate faculties and God-given natural aptitudes At an early age he became a youth of many parts obtaining high efficiency in the prevalent arts and literature and other branches of learning such as Fiqh, astronomy, grammar, philosophy, logic, religion, mysticism, history and literature Music also formed part of his learning and he improved the then prevalent art of music by his original contributions In short, not a single art was left that he did not learn to its highest excellence As regards languages, he was master of the Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages To add to these he learnt various Indian dialects, especially Hindi that he loved most and was proud of

> A Turkish Indian, speaking Hindavi am I
> No lump of sugar or Arabic in expression

Another couplet says :

> Rightly speaking I am an Indian finch
> Ask of me Hindavi' that I may sing in it.

He had a natural aptitude for poetry and adorned it from his very early tender age Poetical expressions flowed from his tongue The atmosphere of learning and knowledge added glimmer to his natural inclination His contact with Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia produced in him inner cravings and spiritual ecstasy

He lived long enough to see the reign of some 11 kings who ruled and passed away, from Ghiyasuddin Balban to Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq He witnessed the rise and fall of each king and each dynasty Every ruler favoured him, respected him and honoured him and took pride in him for his scholarly achievements, intelligence and wisdom and above all, for his piety and purity of heart He was an unique personality of his age, crowned with spiritual attainments, and was above all politics He never accepted any job Rather he avoided jobs

The personality of Khusrau was like an octogonal diamond or jewel, rare in having come into existence and was unmatched in his time, earlier to that and after, as well The remarkable feature of his personality was his patriotism, based on noble sentiments and vast vision He loved India The atmosphere in which he was brought up and the social structure he moved in, joined hands in producing in him a vast love and faith in India, so to say, "the very land was more splendid than the Kingdom of Solomon; even the thorn was deemed better than the fragrant petals of scented flowers like narcissus-jasimes" He surpassed all other poets in praise of India He loved every particle and every corner of India He placed India above the rest of the world, and looked upon her rivers and rivulets, hills and mountains, meadows and pastures, fields and orchards, gardens and valleys, fruits and flowers, birds and animals, buildings and cottages, men and religion, rites and customs, dialects and languages of the motherland far better and sacred than others in the rest of the world

This attitude of mind can be found only in a man who loves the land, who thinks of the betterment of the soil, who wants to see the land pretty and alluring, who is desirous of finding every corner of the land developing and progressing, and prosperous and flourishing.

When we look upon Khusrau from this angle and study his life and achievements we see that he was the first son of the

soil who sang of the blessings of God which He had showered upon India.

He proved that India stood par excellence in all respects above the creation of this universe

Generally, Khusrau lived in Delhi but being in touch with the rulers of India, he had to travel through many parts of the country He thus gathered an intimate knowledge of these places and people It was but natural that he entertained a staunch love for Delhi and its people His pen appears zealous, sentimental and inspiring in praise of Delhi He writes in *Qiranu's Sadain* about Delhi saying that it is paradise and garden of Eden in all its beauty and features He goes far ahead and speaks of its sanctity above the sanctity of the Ka'ba that might go round it even on hearing of its beautiful gardens Then follows his praise of Delhi, its congenial climate, its fruit gardens, its orchards and the buildings and people that inhabit it.

> Delhi, the centre of religion and justice
> Is the Garden of Eden, and so populous
>
> If the splendour of this garden falls
> upon the ear
>
> Mecca itself might go round it in reverence,
> Its people are like angels, happy in heart, in
> habits
>
> Many are men of letters and knowledge, poets in
> numbers
>
> Pass on from poesy to music, so melodious and
> so alluring [1]

He has praised, in the same strain, the climate, fruit and flowers of India

He also finds reason for his love of India and speaks how India is superior to Iraq, Khurasan and Khata. His first reason is that India is his heaven of peace and pivot of life, being his motherland The second reason he puts forward is the holy tradition of the Prophet (Peace be on Him) that "love of the country forms part of the Faith".

> My rival comes forward with the taunt,
> Why is this superiority of Hind over all?
> Two reasons came to my help,

These had found ground for my stand,
One is that this land in time
Turned to be my heaven and motherland,
This comes from the Tradition of the Prophet
"Love of country", believe it, a part of Faith"
Secondly this land due to the Qutub of the age
Is superior to all lands of the world
Though this superiority does not find favour,
But poetic necessity made it proper
I come with open excuse [2]
But see the charming and alluring way of expression

Khusrau maintains that India is in itself a world and puts forward seven reasons

(1) Adam after the fall from paradise first set his foot on the land of India
(2) India has the peacock, a bird of paradise
(3) Even the snake came down from paradise
(4) When Adam left India he found himself deprived of all its choicest things
(5) India abounds in things for luxury and the life of ease, here is found abundance of scents and fragrance while Rum and Ray have scanty flourishing flowers
(6) India is the Garden of Eden (paradise) for all its blessed things and luxuries
(7) Muslims regard India a paradise while the rest of the world mere prison [3]

These are the arguments that no one can refute. The first four reasons are religious and traditional, the fifth and sixth enumerate India's natural blessings and the last one speaks of the Muslims' attachment to India

The fertility of the land, its greenness and verdure and its varied features depend upon the nature of soil, climate and weather Khusrau made an intimate acquaintance with these characteristics and enumerated ten chief features Thus he proved that India's congenial climate is better than that of Khurasan and is so health-giving

He writes ·

I made India a paradise by my discourse
Now I come to relate its climate

Ten reasons count I that are unrefutable
To claim it better than Khurasan, from all sides '

1 The first ground, he points out, is that India's winter is not so severe

"The first is that the people in India face no harm from its winter"

2 The Indian summer season is better than the winter in Khurasan where people meet death due to severe cold

The second reason is that the inhabitants of
Khurasan face irksome winter
Such a thing is not said of this garden though
Its summer is flaming hot
Only hot weather makes a little uneasy, but in Khurasan
Everyone meets death in winter

3. No one is hurt by cold wind or cold season in India

Thirdly no poor one is smitten by winter wind here

4 India knows no autumn for its blooming gardens keep on flowering all the year round

Fourthly the verdant and flowering land keeps on blooming all the year round

5 Indian flowers are of pretty colour like 'Babuna'

Fifthly its roses are pretty coloured like the blooming 'Babuna' (wild-ivy)

6 Even dry petals of Indian flowers remain fragrant

Sixthly if the petals get dry, its fragrance leaves it not
This flower, if turns dry, the inner part changes into musk

7 India abounds in fresh luscious fruits

Seventhly Khurasan fails to produce such fresh fruits as guava and grapes
Other fruits abound too, nothing can rival cardamoms, pepper, olive, camphor.

8 India produces many of the Khurasani fruits but not a single kind of Indian fruit is found in Khurasan

Eighthly many of the fruits of that land are found in India but it is not vice versa.

9 Two things are rare gifts in India—banana and betel leaf.

Ninthly in this happy land of India, are two gifts so rare, a fruit that is not found in the world, another is a leaf that the guest is so fond to chew.
Look at the fruit and see the betel-leaf.

10 Betel-leaf is not found anywhere in the world

Tenthly there is betel-leaf, not found in any corner of the world [5]

He had lauded betel-leaf much in *Masnavi Qiranu's-Sadain*

It is one of the choicest things of India It is mere grassy-leaf but is so useful Its chewer never falls a prey to *leprosy* (skin-virus) It produces pure blood, it removes bad smell of the mouth and tightens the teeth The chewers that enjoy it to the full, find their appetite increased, while the hunger striken get their hunger lessened In short, kings and paupers are so fond of it

A rare leaf, like the petals in the garden, is Indian variety
Swift in effect and fast as stallion
In form and meaning so sharp
Its effectiveness cuts sharp the melody of leprosy
The tradition of the Prophet goes as such
So strange a leaf that turns in the mouth blood-red that
Flows out from the animal's body
Its chewing removes bad-smell of the mouth,
And teeth gain strength from it
Hunger increases of a man who chews it to the full
While it lessens hunger of the hungry one
It is respected in presence and absence both
And is equally loved by kings and the poor [6]

It may be argued that Khusrau gave an unnecessary lengthy description of the seasons of India, rather took advantage in exaggerating them It might have been briefly dealt with But when a thing is so appealing to the heart it flows into minute descriptions and insatiety creeps in When the story is so dear to the heart, it knows no ending Such was the attitude of Khusrau towards India Everything Indian was far better to him than the world, and he tries to prove it so from every angle of vision as if he is saying·

"Friends, my country abounds in everything".

To Khusrau India is not a garden of paradise for being blessed by Nature abundantly, rather he takes pride in her vast storehouse of knowledge and the arts that served as a nucleus

from which the world derived knowledge and light Khusrau gives ten reasons to prove that India is superior to all the world in respect of knowledge and learning and arts and crafts

1 Firstly it is her own vast knowledge that surpasses all estimation

> Other places know not of vast learning and arts that
> have spread in every nook and corner of India

2 Indians are capable of learning the languages of other nations easily while others are hardly able to learn Indian languages and speak them

> Secondly, the people of India can speak languages
> eloquently But people of other lands are unable to
> speak Indian ones

3 India played a great role in imparting learning and knowledge for centuries People thronged here for learning but no Indian needed to go out in search of it anywhere else.

> Thirdly, listen to me with open mind for intellect accepts
> it, and shuns not Men of parts from all over the world
> gathered here in search of knowledge and skill. But
> a Brahmin left not India seeking knowledge elsewhere
> for power and reverence

4 India rightly takes pride in her originality and creation of figures, mathematics and the function of zero

> Fourthly, people of the world came not across
> such a skill in figure work,
> With one Zero, a figure empty, what a strange
> Result comes out when added,
> Maths that pleases understanding, branched out
> into practical work and Euclid
> Wise people (scholars) who seek help of it,
> Are all disciples of Brahmins

5 *Kalila wa Dimna*, a most popular work, was written in India. It played an important role in the world as a repository of worldly knowledge and an instructive work

> Fifthly, I describe clearly and refute all the rivals wisely
> Dimna and Kalila spread its net all over, is a work of
> yore
> Nothing vies it in wisdom, for prudent ones find wisdom
> in it.

6 Chess, the most intellectual game, originated in India It is an excellent past-time for a sad heart

> Sixthly it is the game of chess that lightens hearts It originated in India at the hands of men of understanding that has been acknowledged by others as something superior They bow down their heads before it

7 The world has derived benefit from India's figure work, *Kalila Wa Dimna* and the game of chess

> Seventhly these three productions, arithmatic, *Dimna*, chess, all the world finds light and wisdom in emanated from India alone

8 The "Indian Sarod" has no rival in the world

> Eighthly the happy Sarod (poesy) of mine that burns the heart and soul, knows everyone that it has no rival and it is a fact

9 The Indian melody strikes the very heart, men and beasts are affected by it alike

> Ninthly the music and melody strikes the very heart of a wild stag
>
> Warbling notes find a target without bow and arrow its strike gives life and fluency to the tongue

Khusrau added to Indian music, 'Hindi' Sarod (Hindi song) and Hindi fresh music that the world of music takes prides in

10 Khusrau, the monarch of the poetic world, and the most charming singer was born and bred in India It is hard to find an equal of him all over the world

> Tenthly like Khusrau no poet exists under the old blue sky If Atarad ("Mercury") comes down from the heaven, it bows before him In it lies no doubt or suspicion [7]

India has been a land of languages and Khusrau finds the main reason in it for India's greatness and glory So many and various dialects are spoken here, that are not found anywhere else He has enumerated them and described their merits, specially of Hindavi, Persian, Arabic, Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Kabari, Dhoor Samundari, Telingi, Gojar, Ma'bari, Gouri, Bengali,

Oudhi, Sanskrit He confines Sanskrit to the few ones amongst the Brahmins but acknowledges its sweetness

> India observes this rule that Hindavi has been the language of yore
> Ghori and Turk came and Persian was introduced, open and hidden
> In short it is foolish to enjoy Persian, Turkish and Arabic,
> I, being an Indian, breathe in, an expedient one, Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Kabari, Dhoor Samundari, Telingi and Gojar,
> Ma'bari, Gouri, Bengali and Oudhi, prevalent in its own circle
> These have been used from time ancient and spoken by commoners
> But there is another langauge that is so august among the Brahmins
> It is called Sanskrit from time immemorial,
> Commoners know it not
> And are unaware of its beauty.

To him Sanskrit has a second place to Arabic but is better than Persian

> It is a language with all its beauty, is second to Arabic but superior to Persian (Dari)[9]

He speaks of the peoples of India that they are able to learn and speak any language and dialect He also finds such qualities in animals that are absent in other lands He proves India superior to others in the field of animals and beasts, for example such birds and animals as the parrot, falcon, crow, sparrow, peacock, heron, waterbird, horse, goat, monkey, elephant exist in India He also describes the qualities of such an animal that is like a deer and howls too

Khusrau is a believer in peace and amity. He has faith in humanity and human greatness He loves every created being. He finds no distinction between friend and foe. His heart is above pride and prejudice, rather it is filled with universal love and sincerity. He establishes India's greatness by enumerating the virtues of men, women, young and old; their fidelity, their moral virtues, their heroism, beauty, generosity and benevolence. He says that unity of Godhead forms part of the Hindu faith.

> It acknowledges Unity, Existence and Infinity Nature brought them out from nonentity, Even crude one is sustainer, every animal lives on The actor, real and supposed one, is in action The whole kingdom containing parts and whole, is from beginning of Time (eternity) [10]

He prefers it to other sects and creeds

> 'Shomarra maintains dualism, a Hindoo derives it not
>
> Christians place together the Soul and the Son, a Hindoo is not allied with it

The Magi finds the body final, but a Hindoo has no faith in it Star-Worshippers have faith in Seven Gods, but a Hindoo keeps the Unity of Godhead and denies it

> Element-worshippers treat four elements as deity, a Hindoo shares it not,
>
> Symbol worshippers find symbols as deity, the Hindoo is far from it
>
> The Godhead of a Brahmin is matchless and is all Truth [11]

Khusrau's universal religion, his humanitarian approach, if viewed truly, is based on patriotic sentiments This attitude of mind he derived from Islam The teachings of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya brightened his life and vision His love of India was so staunch and strong that each and everything concerning India was full of excellence 'Look at Laila with the eyes of Majnoo', is so true of him and India must be looked at with the eyes of Khusrau His works are full of praise of India in some form or the other

I count Khusrau as the greatest Indian patriot because no single person or a group has enumerated so many points of merit and of excellence of India, separately or collectively, and proved India superior and *par excellence* over the whole world Many have spoken of India as a garden of paradise, but it is Khusrau who came forward first with proof and clear evidence to say so

This sentiment finds expression from the "tongue" of a person whose heart is fillled with love of the country, whose knowledge and observation is deep and vast, whose experience knows no bounds, who is the standard bearer of the human race and

spirituality and who has all human qualities in him. Such a perfect person comes into being after a lapse of centuries.

> Narcissus keeps on shedding tears for thousands of years at its sightlessness
>
> A seeing one is hard to find in the garden but rarely.[11]

The melodious notes of this most observant poet still touch the "very" heart and fill it with a sense of patriotism.

References

1. *Qiranu's Sadain* p. 28-34.
2. *Nuh Sipihr* p. 149-150.
3. *Nuh Sipihr* p. 151-157.
4. Ibid p 158-161.
5. *Nuh Sipihr*—pages 158-161.
6. *Qiranu's-Sadain* page 185-186.
7. *Nuh Sipihr* pages 166-172.
8. *Nuh Sipihr* pages 178-181.
9. *Nuh Sipihr* page 178-181.
10. *Nuh Sipihr* page 103
11. *Nuh Sipihr* page 103.

Musical Genius of Amir Khusrau

SHAHAB SARMADEE

By no means a by-product of his poetic versatility, it was in the case of Amir Khusrau a precious gift of that rare creative impulse which remained always more at ease with every nuance of sound and sense, whether it be the lilt of a catching tune, the spontaniety of a rythmic phrase or the glamour of a measured utterance. He could express himself in ringing words and singing notes at an age when children still suffer from a lisp or use their vocal organs to shout out at their friends than to croon and hum, and that too their own improvisations.

He was trained by none and taught by nobody in the conventional manner but was left to foster his genius through self-training:

> "I had learnt the science to such an extent that I could understand birds and beasts. I had also experienced how the gods tell us news about one through them".[1]

In this way he could keep himself abreast of the times in matters not only of language, poetry and music but also what the Indian understanding had to offer. His intellect thus cut across traditions and conventions—in particular those set up by the Muslim nobility of medieval India. In this his friend and philosopher happened to be his own mother's father, the Arid-i-Rawat 'Imad-ul-Mulk, "of the colour of the stone of Ka'ba", as Khusrau wanted to confide to us. This eminent 'Rawat' had a retinue of 200 Turkish slaves and about 2,000 Indian attendants. He threw sumptuous feasts and convened magnificent assemblies where came great scholars, mightly nobles—the Maliks and Amirs as well as the Rais and Rawats. Khusrau had naturally to play the host to all and listen eagerly to all. He could inculcate a love for languages, particularly for those spoken and understood in the big Rawat's cosmopolitan household. And as every language has its own words and the words quite often their pleasing form called 'song', his capable memory could very well retain

all these soft and sweet imprints of his early days for ever He testifies

> "I have traversed through (most) people's languages with a discerning mind, have enquired, learnt and spoken quite a few and [2]

This enabled Khusrau to shed most of the prejudices peculiar to that age and develop a mind and soul which could register direct responses to the land and its climate, its flowers and fruits, its birds and animals, its languages and their songs

Imad-ul-Mulk passed away in 671 A H (1277 A D)

Khusrau was then just out of his teens and had already compiled his first diwan called by him THE GIFT OF EARLY AGE Nearabout this time "his public career starts with his joining the entourage" of Balban's illustrious nephew, Alauddin Kishli Khan, a munificent patron of poetry and music "For full two years I sang his praises in some of the most ornate odes", Khusrau tells us This singing ought to have been literal because he possessed a natural urge for it Even as a small boy, on an occasion.

> "I recited each verse in a tremulous and modulated accent so that my melodious recital rendered all eyes tearful, and astonishment surged on all sides "[3]

The case of the poet-composer Shams Moin is also there.[4] Balban who aspired to re-live Iran in Hindustan may have encouraged this convention Kishli Khan most certainly did And Khusrau must have outshone others

He had next to shift his allegiance to Balban's second son, Bughra Khan, whom Barni considered to be a notable connoisseur of music This took him first to Samana and thence to Lakhnauti, as Gauda was then called by Persian chroniclers From there he could come back in 680 A H. (1281 A D) only to be picked up by Balban's favourite son, Malik Qa'an, who invited him to Multan.

If we run through his eventful life from now on he is found moving with set purpose and determined aim between Delhi, Samana, Lakhnauti, Multan, Awadh, Devagiri, Khanbayet, Chittor, Telanga, Dwarasamudra, Ma'bar, Madurai, Chidambaram and also probably Tanjore At most of these places he stays, or at least lingers on, for such time so as to be able to breathe its culture with natural ease

Those were the days when regions, known as 'Desh' were in a way independent cultural entities Gandahara and Kamboja beyond the western borders, Multan and Delhi in the west. Mithila and Gauda in the east, Ujjain and Malava on the road to south, Gurjar Desh by the sea, Simhala Desh and Karnata in the south—all these held their own in matters of culture The regional tunes, most prominent and enduring among them being, Gandahari, Kamboji, Multani Gauda, Malava Pancam, Gurjari, Simhali and Karnata were already working under *sastric* sanction when Khusrau came to listen to them and in almost all cases learn them [5]

Lakhnauti he visited twice at a time when Gauda, up-graded as Grama-raga, was spreading its tonal shoots far and wide [6] Among its varieties—Karnata Gauda, Dravida Gauda and Chaya Gauda (all sampurna)—there was also Turuska Gauda, a melody only of five notes This particular Gauda, mixed with a Turkish folk tune, is for the first time heard of about 1250 A D [7] It should have been of almost the same age as Khusrau So it is manifest that Indian music had already come in very close contact with Turkish music

Multan then included the Punjab and the whole of Sind "For five years I watered the five rivers of Multan with the seas of my delectable verses", says Khusrau He had moved here on invitation from Prince Mohammad Qa'an, the eldest son and heir-apparent of Balban With him had come the young lyricist, better known as Amir Hasan Dehlavi Both of these poets vied with each other in bringing out their best The Prince himself being a sober critic and his court being a haven of shelter and reverence, also to those great men of talent from Central Asia and Khurasan who were driven by the savage Mongols, the Delhi-duo found it difficult to impress and easy to be impressed But they benefited either way Much more than this was the long-distance spell cast over both by Sa'di of Shiraz and their falling in love with ghazal, in a new way

These eventful five years in Multan were intrinsically inspiring to Khusrau Here he was amidst an ever-changing pattern of people from 'farud-u-bala' [8]—people fresh from the lands of Dwazdah Maqamat, Shash Abreisham, and Chahar Usul, people from Yemen and Iraq, Ispahan and Khurasan, Neishapur and Nihavand, Bakharz and Farghana—speaking their languages,

specialising in their own popular-most tunes of the same name Khusrau could speak their language, he would have certainly found it, therefore, interesting to pick up their songs Similarly he must have been deeply touched by the Kafi songs[9] of Kacch, Multan and Punjab and with the Mahias of the Sohini-Mahiwal episode

Multan had long served as the seat of the Arab governors of Sind Besides it was the hallowed abode of the Suhrawardi saints, of whom Sheikh Bahauddin Zakaria Multani (ob 624 A H)(1226 A D) had just preceded Khusrau as a music wizard Tradition ascribes the formalisation of the initially pentatonic Multani melody to him. His 'khanqaah' was a meeting as well as training ground for the outstanding qaul singers of Baghdad Trans-Oxus and other places Malik Qa'an highly prized the rendering of Arabic qauls by the qawwals of this 'khanqaah' and created a precedence by standing in respectful silence with eyes full of deep tears on one such occasion. Khusrau, as the boon-companion of the Prince, must have been moved more than others.

In 685 A H (1286 A D), when the handsome Kaiqubad ascended the throne of Delhi, we find Khusrau in Avadh with the magnificent Khan-i-Jehan Hatim Khan Here he stayed for more than two years and was 'loaded with so much riches as to make him 'financially self-sufficient and secure for at least two generations'. Here he found 'rich and poor content and happy with their work, art or trade' Writing to a friend from here he called out . "It is a city (Ayodhya), "nay, a garden " In this garden some beautiful bird must have sung to him the tuneful Purbi[10]—the Purbi which evoked the memorable utterance from Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya .

"مارا در روز میثاق ندای الست بر یکه در آهنگ پوربی بگوش رسیده بود ما را"

"The [11]divine voice calling out on the day of testament: 'Am I not your Lord' reached my ears in the tune of Purbi melody"

There is not much to doubt that this immortalised tune must have been the aptly top-dressed gift of Khusrau to his spiritual mentor, and thereby to posterity.

Back to Delhi, Khusrau received the first royal assignment and became Kaiqubad's poet-laureate. Young in age and made to live an austere life, and suppressed, Kaiqubad now inaugurated an age of relentless revelries Yet, though a profligate, he was

an exceptionally accomplished person In his service, Khusrau found himself amongst the best practitioners of the musical art—both Indian and foreign And since he could make his own contributions towards both, he embarked upon a career which was to win him laurels in immediate future

The Mu'izzi Era, as Barni terms it, has gone down in history for its exuberance and abandon in the sphere of musical activity Of paramount relevance here is the circumstance that professional song and dance masters, in particular the highly gifted ones from among the Natt tribes (whom Barni calls Gada-Ghazi) gained proficiency in Persian and artistic grace in handling Rabab and rendering of ghazal[12] With this came an upsurge The popular and most ancient folk art of dance-drama in India came to the fore with ghazal also as its song medium[13] The processes of modal blending and procedural synthesis, thus activised, could not have escaped the notice of Khusrau In point of fact he must have been at the back of it all, if not in the lead His own masnavi *Qiranu's-Sadain*, read with the chronicled data, tells as much After all most of the rightly called true ghazals appended to this masnavi have been primarily pieces of composed music

This is most interesting It shows that ghazal as a folk-form of music preceded its literary form Khusrau himself testifies to this. Mark his words

> "I have composed many a fresh ghazal but I did not include them (in his diwan), as a ghazal is but of seven or nine verses and anyone who can scrawl seven or nine verses would strut like a refractory camel and try to compete or vie with me . .."

So he was never averse to ghazal but considered it a thing of common versification Then since when the change ? Of course not since Multan, else Hasan could not have said

سخنم چوں سخن خسرو نیست   سخن آنست کہ من می گویم

"My poetry[14] is unlike Khusrau's; Poetry is that which I create" and his (Khusrau's) Multan-based 'diwan', *Wasat-ul-Hayat* would not have shunned the company of ghazals in this way

A reasonable surmise would, therefore, be that the musical potentialities of this most popular form recommended themselves to Khusrau who after all realised their worth and vitalised them

with fresh blood of his composing qualities and musical genius For verily the career of ghazal henceforth in this country is Khusrau's own

A change in people's ideas about the expression of thought had much earlier set in, and Khusrau was its precursor, too He tells us how he recited one of his quatrains ـائی composed in that style[15] before Maulana Gharifi and how "Afterwards whatever my youthful imagination produced was eagerly sought and appreciated by the knowing persons of the time and was quoted from mouth to mouth, musicians sang it to the music of their Chang (چنگ)—the harp-type instrument, exclusively that which was developed in Central Asia and prospered in India—and even bent old men flew into ecstacies on hearing these melodies "[16]

It is known that Arabic qaul had been co-existent with Sufi practices, that it was given shape and form in Iraq—the land of birth of Sufism and that the quatrain was its counterpart in Persian Khusrau gave new lyrical contents to this counterpart and crowned it afterwards, as he says, with similar outpourings of a spontaneous nature in a form of musical poetry described by him again as "flowing magic" This is ghazal But not the sensuous type meant for the convivial parties of Kaiqubad and the like; instead the one for the 'knowing persons of the time' He says :

غزل راچناں جلوه دادم بکام   کہ بستم غزالاں صحرا تمام

("I manifested ghazal to everyone's desire in such a way as to overpower the wild deers of wilderness, even")

His invoking Todi melody here matters, and the way he completes his statement is also significant His ghazal bewitched everybody, because it suited all tastes.

Thus there were two distinctly marked phases of his ghazal-writing · the one in which he sang to the court, the other in which he sang to his own soul, the one invoking 'spring' (*bahar*) with its green mantle bedecked with myriads of blossoms and flowers, the other singing essentially of 'love' (*Ishq*) with its pangs and pathos; the one talking of the blood-tinged red wine served by the ruby-lipped 'cup-bearer' (*Saqi*), the other of the red-hot flame that burns the body and brightens the heart; the one primarily for the Sultan and his predominantly Turkish

nobility and the other for every one—even for the neo-Muslims and the non-Muslims

The first phase

Tagore once said that his Gitis brought their own tunes with them Khusrau had almost a similar thing to say about his ghazal

> "I improvise so swiftly that ere
> one can utter the name of a 'Bait' (بیت)
> I finish a شعر and in the assembly of
> kings mostly I have been content to extemporise
> and to dispense with the services of the pen "

This is so intimate, so true " every day Amir Khusrau brought new ghazals to that Majlis and Sultan (Jalaluddin) who was simply in love with them rewarded lavishly "[17] Appropriate care was taken by the poet to choose a particular sentiment for an evening as a continuing theme It is remarkable that of such ghazals almost all are homogeneous and thematic The metre allotted to each corresponds with the theme and the prevailing sentiment, the tune and the rhythmic time too must have harmonised[18] Then the presentation was not only to please but also to stimulate Khusrau is, therefore, there with his under-studies Amir Khasah (?) and Hamid Raja with the superb Changi, Mohammad Shah,playing, the silver-voiced Futuha and Nusrat Khatun singing, the graceful Nusrat Bibi and Mihr Afruz dancing and the 'peerless performers' in the orchestra beating time and boosting the tune

Think of the dew-drenched moments of the young night and the frothing cups filled by the rose-cheeked 'turk-lads' with the marvellous Yalduz in the lead—the melodies employed in the main could have been as a little later vouchsafed by Badr-i-Chach, *viz* Sipahan (ensuing night), Mukhalifak (full-night), Nihavand (middle of the night) and Hussaini (closing hours of the night)[19] To weave the fantasies further the Sho'bas such as Muhayyir and Do-Gah (Hussaini), or Nishapur and Nayiriz (Sipahan) or kindred Turko-Iranian "Awaazas" may have been made to intervene with their golden threads. Indian ragas or ragangas or at least their 'congenial concoctions' such as for instance Bahar and Shahana or even Devagiri, Khusrau's latest love,[20] must have had access too to sprinkle the colour of variety but duff being

there to pulsate the rhythm and the performing artists all being such who "even after a stay of thirty or forty years in India could not play a single Indian tune correctly"[21] nothing beyond this may have been feasible

The Turko-Persians found their 'Tarab' secure in the hands of the 'Mutrib' rather than with the 'Goyindah' or 'Khwanindah' This more than anything else had made their music instrument-based And thus so much of dedicated talk in honour of 'Ud-u-Barbat and Chang-u-Rabab' and thus also so much of stress on the consonance of the 'fifth' (Kharaj-Pancham Bhava) which came out brightest on a stringed instrument But Khusrau being there both as a 'Goyindah' and 'Khwanindah' every instrument had to play the accompaniment Thus he brought ghazal to the fore and let the instrumentalist adhere to his tonal aesthetics Hear him saying this himself

به هر پرده که مطرب ساز می زد غزل خوان بر سپهر آواز می زد

(دول رانی خضرخان)

> "Whatever 'Sur'-assortment the musician made the ghazal-singer soared into the skies"

This clinches He fell in with the Persians as far as ceremonial ghazal-singing was concerned His self-training had helped him imbibe their art But the art of India was his own According to it the Svara emanated from the core of the Being and was best represented by human voice He may or may not have been aware of this 'sastric niyam' but he gave priority to human voice and took pride in being an outstanding vocalist of his time[22] Thus, be it the plucked or bowed and plectrum-played or mouth-blown, he reduced all into instruments of accompaniment Only he made the voice inculcate all their foreign mannerisms, the vocal art inherit all their strange embellishments · the Shakes the Trills, the Glides, the Swings, the Tahrir and Zamzama—in short all the graces of the 'non-gamak' type He made them all mix and move about with gamakas in their appropriation of varnas and alamkaras. An Indo-Iranian gayaki was thus born. Khusrau's soul be blessed He was one of its godfathers

The second phase

The Second Phase both of Khusrau's ghazal and ghazal singing, en-route as our researches are so far, synchronises

with the almost sudden shift towards Sama music Rather it may have been the other way round, *viz* ghazal invigorating Sama and thereby attaining new dimensions with new intents

So far the traditional qaul in Arabic, to sustain its sanctified halo, with an occasional rubay'i [23] or lively extracts from qasidah, had to suffice A melodic rendering of the lines running smoothly on sombre rhythms could alone lend some colour to otherwise staccato proceedings With the coming in of Alauddin Khalji and his enforcement of prohibition, in and around Delhi, on the one side, and on the other his personal indifference to a sweet tune or a line of well-strung words, effectively out-balanced by his devoutly bowing to the spiritual suzerainty of the Sultan-ul-Masha'ikh, created conditions which sucked bloodless the Mahafil-i-Mai reminiscent of the days of Kaiqubad and Jalaluddin Khalji thereby bringing about a politico-cultural climate suited for an un-inhibited sublimation of Sama

Khusrau was now spiritually young by about 25 years in the service of the revered saint In 698 A H (1298 A D) he lost his mother and brother Qutlugh within a space of seven days His grief was beyond words Thus the joy of being a servant of his pir and the sorrow of separation from his dearest ones awakened his heart anew His imagination was tinged all over and his ghazal was now aflame with love Believe us, KHUSRAU BROUGHT THIS GHAZAL TO THE PRECINCTS OF SAMA Sa'di and Humam had already reached there The Sadi-i-Hind, Hasan, was also there With them had come ghazal But let this be pointed out that Khusrau was Tuti-i-Hind not because of any royal conferment, or any token gesture of elite appreciation but because the intelligent majority to whom his person and his poetry appealed most honestly believed that he was much better a *tuti* than *a sadi* And that made all the difference

So the cause of ghazal was sponsored by him and solemnised by the great Sheikh in an atmosphere super-charged with great expectations We now find him composing with a changed fervour We often see him participating openly and personally Whenever the interest lagged or the standard slackened he rose and he sang, but the slightest 'hang' quickened him to silence with the result that "the best and always the best" came to be associated with him

This is on the testimony of Mir Khurd *Saiyar-ul-Auliya*

"Once my father threw a feast Hazrat Sultan-ul-Masha'ikh and several other eminent Sufis of the town came Bahlol qawwal began with the ghazal of Amir Hasan

زہی ترکی کہ از خمہای ابرو　　کماں پیدا کشد پنہاں زند تیر

بگوش مدعی کے جای گیرد　　مرا سری کہ ہست اندر مزامیر

("Bravo! the Turk, the arch of whose eye brows, openly draws the bow and covertly shoots the arrow How can the fault-finder hear the devised extent within the devices)

"Amir Khusrau followed but instantaneously checked himself after going through only the مطلع of his ghazal People asked how is it that whenever you start with your own ghazal you break off after a line or two ? He replied 'What to do . the mysteries come crowding and leave me bewildered ! . . . Thereupon he struck a ghazal of Sa'di, which opened

معلمت ہمہ شوخی و دلبری آموخت　　جفا و ناز و عتاب و ستمگری آموخت

(The one who taught you made you learn all that is pert and saucy, heart-ravishing and captivating He initiated you in heartless blandishments and wanton cruelty)

In another Majlis " in the house of my own uncle, Saiyyid-i-Khamosh, Sama was in progress, Hasan Bedi was presenting a ghazal of Auhad Kirmani. When he came to these lines :

گفتی از آن دیگران آوحدی شد دایم کنون　　تا خبر تو رسان او اوحد کیانی دیگران

(You say Auhad has gone over to others but as long as your love is there how can that be ?)

"Sultan-ul-Masha'ikh was moved; tears bubbled down his eyes and ecstasy set in. His limbs danced in rhythmic trance Profoundly touched, Amir Khusrau let his ghazal open on this line and began :

رخ جملہ را نمود و مرا گفت تو بس

زین ذوق مست شد سر کیں سخن چہ بود ؟

> (He showed his face to everyone, telling me not to look
> I am beyond me with blissful delight of it, not knowing
> what he said)
>
> "The moment this بیت was uttered, Sultan-ul-Masha'ikh cast his well known, love-laden, glance towards Amir Khusrau and passed into ecstasy Amir Khusrau poured out his soul and repeated the بیت Hasan Bedi, realising that Sultan-ul-Masha'ikh was now under the divine grace of Sama took up again and brought round the assembly to the same lines of Sheikh Auhad "[24]

From the above some of the moments of Sama may be re-constructed In particular it may be realised how the musician in Khusrau vied with the poet in him and how did the genius of a court-poet blossomed forth into that of a saint-musician of maturer days

In this connection a singular fact more Khusrau while giving a preface to his last collection of works, *Baqiyya-i-Naqiyya* makes out a crucial point as regards the aesthetic appeal of ghazal as a song-piece He says

> "These days ghazal appeals to most From the day it created a furore in Fars, the reciters sing from it to put a flame into the hearts of the assembled listeners I too considered it desirable to let the fountain-like fluency of my pen flow in to ghazal, which taking analogy from the four elements, I place into four categories
>
> (i) those like cold clod ,
> (ii) those as water ,
> (iii) those half-baked ,
> (iv) those all fire

It was 'the ghazal all fire'[25] which Khusrau chose for his personal offerings on the altar of Sama and set it to Sur and Tala—the Sur holding up the sentiment, the Tala coinciding with the mood and the whole melodic piece making the emotional flames rise thick and high In these melodic moulds were poured tonal ingredients from Iranian airs and Hindi tunes to give final shape and fastest colour to the finished pieces, all of which have served as 'written music' for the qawwal gharanas thence uptil now.

Analyse any of these and it will be found that since the whole ethos had changed the technique and the procedure of presentation too had to Now every line was meant to be put forth before the choicest gathering of the lovers of song and poetry Every line had, therefore, to be perfect from the point of view of sound, sense, thought, and emotion feeling and pathos, message and ideology Not a single wrong move from anyone in the audience or the performers No word wasted, no gesture hazarded

There are three qaul-singers, with the *sir* (leader) in the middle no instruments Only an average size Duhul,[26] in place of duff abandoned in favour of the former, to mark the time and the dastak (hand-clap)[27] to accentuate or criss-cross it After all it was the Sirkar of the Sultan-ul-Auliya and not the Darbar of the Delhi Sultan And who could know and abide by it better than Khusrau

And so the Sama commences; A qaul is to come first, therefore why not the qaul foremost[28] in Chishtiya order·

مَن کُنتُ مَولَاہُ فَعَلِیٌّ مَولَاہُ

درتیلے، درتیلے درداِنی، دردانی توم توم تنانا تنانا رے

یَلی، یَلی یَلا یا لے

مَن کُنتُ مَولَاہُ فَعَلِیٌّ مَولَاہُ

This qaul is believed to be the Prophet's own, is therefore as old as Islam itself But the musical setting of it though very much subsequent seems to be, in better part of it, a very early Sufi composition Tom, Nom happen to echo hey-days of Greco-Arab music. Similarly *Yalali* may be traced back to an inscription of Ashurbanipal (7th Century B C) when "Arab prisoners toiling for their Assyrian masters (tried to) while away their hours in singing Alili and Ninguti "[29]

Tradition, whatever its weight, ascribes this qaul to Khusrau. It may be his to the extent that the mnemonics tana-tan, tana-na or tanana re have been proverbial with him[30] And if its present-day most authentic rendering is any sure indication of its relevant past, the technique being that of orthodox and now obsolete tarana,—with Ajami base and prabandha superstructure,—Khusrau's hand in its re-conditioning becomes probable. Going

still further, the absence of tanas or the sort of tonal variance peculiar to later gayaki together with an out of the ordinary quick tempo parcelling of rhythmic phrases all speak most convincingly of the pre-dhrupad singing traits which so well correspond with Khusrau's time

A classical Chishti Sama closed with a qalbanah, again in Arabic The prolegomena [31] records

الٰهی تبت من قول المعاصی

The text beyond this depends on what the Persian writers of India call ta na tilli [32] These tonal paddings and rhythmic fillings together with the event of its coming on the crest of the climax make the qalbanah move on a pace more brisk than qaul The folk measures of Nakta-dadra or Nakta-kaherwa are natural choices along with Mughlayi (Rupaka) and Pashtu and the like—all adapted for the purpose and termed later on as qawwali Theka This helps to make out the individuality of Tarana which again is an adaptation of the erstwhile Irani Tarana to prevailing urges

Tarana as a form of music and a concomitant of ghazal was already established in the Iran of Amir 'Unsur-ulma Ali who wrote his *Qabus-Namah* at least a century and three quarters earlier [33] than Khusrau The latter weaned it out of its literary habits, substituting words by a multitude of mono-syllabic to tri-syllabic sounds borrowed from the Perso-Arabic system or designed anew The contemporary art of India too had tena as one of the limbs of rupaka-gita A young scholar of Khusrau's old days explains it [34] as "the tana na and similar meaningless words used in singing" Khusrau himself identifies words such as tana tan to be string-sounds Some of the others can as well be traced back to the musical instruments yielding them—tom-tom, for instance, to be that of a plucked instrument or tara-tan-tara (Arabic) of a mouth blown war-instrument called Qarna, and so on The vocables to hum a nebulous tune and Khusrau's ingenuity in reducing all melodic or rhythmic sounds to their equables—such as those produced by the cotton-dresser's bow—may also be added to these

In any case tarana was first thought of primarily to overcome the language difficulty by Khusrau—the linguist that he was. It was developed by him for supplementing the fiqras of qaul and qalbanah with some of the bols of Indian origin

However, what made it prove the biggest potential of Sama music and qualify for an independent status in days to come was, firstly, its supplanting the text of some of the most palatable songs sung those days in the classical style of Rupaka and Prabandha, and dove-tailing them with Sama items alongwith Persian couplets to heighten the effect,[35] secondly, resurrecting the soul-stirring sounds of Mazamir, tabooed out of Sama, in the shape of the sound-syllables of Tarana replete with the same tonal values

In between qaul and qalbana, Sama attained its ethereal heights on the wings of ghazal The history of the time has luckily preserved for us quite a few details of direct relevance in this direction It can be said with a ring of certainty, therefore, that Khusrau was the greatest ghazal singer who ever lived In their best part most of his ghazals were not to be read but to be sung This is to be rightly appreciated before coming to any harsh judgment as regards their literary worth [36].

> " If it fails to become a part of people's memory, it is still unborn although given birth to" [37]

This is what Khusrau lays down as the criterion. He therefore sang his words, sang them well aware of their tonal assets and liabilities Take any or a few of his most sung ghazals and examine The sparing use of عطف and the liberal use of اضافت in a way that the long and the short of the vowel and the semi-vowel sounds make the consonants run along in the best interests of musicality will be found to be remarkably unique And as known عطف and اضافت have ever been the worst of handicaps the musical rendering of ghazal had to encounter. Similar un-sympathetic elements have been the تاسیس and the 'compounds' which, howsoever well-figured or crisp, stand in the way of tonal variations Khusrau's musical instinct turned these to advantage Moreover these were much more than off-set by his immaculate choice of the 'labials' واو and میم and the dentals تا and دال . They combine to make their own contributions to the clarity of musical sounds they are best suited to do and also tone down the loudness or boost up the sibilance or counteract the retard put up by the palatals, the sibilants, the aspirates and the rest :

می دانم چه منزل بود شب جای که من بودم

(How can I know how far I had gone whereto I had been last night).

Mark the way he arranges sounds to make the sense the way he wants to and, alongwith, take note of the skilful manner he, so to say, milks out music from the nasal endings of his mono-or bi-syllabic words such as جاں and ساں etc To top all this, his aesthetic sensibility made his Persian envy and imbibe the evenly accented, dominantly bi-syllabic structure of India's song-language, the Braj Bhasha, and emulate it with so much ease and grace for his Sama lyrics

من تو شدم تو من شدی من تن شدم تو جاں شدی
تا کس نگوید بعد ازیں من دیگرم تو دیگری

> I in you, you in me, I, the corporate body and you the soul so that none may say hence that we are two

and

کھسرو رین سہاگ کی جاگی پی کے سنگ
تن میرو من پیؤ کو دوؤ بھئے اک رنگ

> Khusrau passed the night of love awake in the arms of the beloved Myself and his soul mingled their colours to become one

Who can deny that, Persian or Braj Bhasha, the above not only share their author and the theme of talk, but also all that is there to please the ear and colour the mind [38]

This is in very brief "the ingrained musicality" of Khusrau's ghazals His prosodiac finesse in succeeding to avoid even تحسیب روا [39] is added to it Then his adherence to the Indian concept of cadence, i.e of bringing the sound and sense in a song to a climax of feeling and allowing it to taper down to a smooth finish, was so consummate that all which preceded became a means towards that end

So the Sama' progressed As Khusrau also says about the sequence. from the قول ہای حجازی to the غزل ہای پارسی .[40] The qawwals may have been from among those named by Barni and others, or by Khusrau himself. But as ghazal-khwan almost all of them—whether ہزار عندلیبان دہلی or مطرب بچگان نوخیز قامت should have felt privileged to be known as Khusrau's disciples. He had trained his own son Rukn-ud-din, better known as Amir Haji in this art and raised him to a status of eminence The great virtuoso

Samit and Tatar or Niyaz [41] were also his trainees As he himself assures "all the singing birds of Delhi belonged to the flock of Amir-ut-Tuyur and this Amir-ut-Tuyur was none else but himself

As regards the art of ghazal singing one thing is certain that it was not pure or even popular Raga Dari, nor scrupulously based on Arabi Maqams and Ajami Pardahs It was not even an amalgam of these On Khusrau's own evidence

گفتہ اراں قول کہ قوال راست
گفتہ گہی راست گہی نیم راست

The qawwal's art remained sometimes true to tradition and sometimes not so true to it, because it relished to rely on the art of ساختن , meaning manipulating a novel tune Khusrau revelled in this art He says.

"We can silk-stitch into one two tunes
howsoever apart they might be " [43]

To quote a single instance, it was this art of ساختن [44] which gave him his Sazgir, [45] a hepta-tonic admixture of purya and the purbi [45] folk tune Incidentally it so much suited the occasion The audience was intellectually much better integrated Moreover, most of them were sons of the soil and almost all were neo-converts to the creed of love Thus new tunes, new words and a new art of song touched all the chords, and Khusrau knew how to do it He sings

کافر عشقم مسلمانی مرا در کار نیست

The word کافر excites some, but the word عشق ignites every heart. Khusrau is confessing for himself and for everyone assembled there:

"A love-worshipper! I am a Kafir,
having nothing much to do with being a Musalmaan"

The line rang and echoed There is a hushed silence No 'twang' and no 'jingle'; even no 'hum' or 'drone' of any instrument Only the highly disciplined voices of the qawwals initiated by Khusrau. They stress each word, by quickening the tempo, to spring up fresh combinations, or by just holding up a single word or phrase tonically, so as to let the flowing rhythm do the rest. Thus the tune [47] abets and the tala [48] aids and

the voice glides in high-pitch, repeating the line towards a climax (Antara) The second line follows

ہر رگِ من تار گشتہ حاجت زنار نیست

"Every vein in the body is a sacred
thread and that is all which is needed"

The edge does not cut, it heals, the Sufi scores, the assembly sways and Khusrau succeeds—technically too, because the tune toned by the sharp madhyam as that of Yeman[49] is there to suggest that the night is still young and the morning though far off must follow Similarly, the Do-Zarbi petit Dadrā Tala projects the Persian compounds, with their poetic accent, in a manner that the sound charms, the sense mystifies

And then, ghazal's own uniqueness! Each شعر in it is a two-piece song, therefore the whole lyric in a series of songs yielding fresh climaxes in succession, and sustaining them These two pieces are the two lines the one a Sthayi, the other an Antara—both dynamic, both changing places in the course of the singer's spontaneous improvisations Thus they keep on moving with the mood, inviting embellishments that by mixing colours, this by the voice-effects Compare

احسنت زہی بلندی گفت   کآواز فتاد خُرد شکست

"Cheers to the high-pitch singing, the voice rode high
and came down in broken particles "

This is Khusrau talking about not only his own voice but also about a style of singing—the historic throat-throb,[50] the fore-runner of tana-palta gayaki as we know it today

Khusrau's age could never initiate khyal but it could make the above-mentioned style prevail It could formalise and popularise the use of most intricate graces later on to serve as the super-structure of khyal These graces known as محاسن (beauties) in Arabo-Persian music were infused by Khusrau with aesthetic stability His artistic sensibility, intellectual alacrity and social stature could alone do it

He also held the position to lead the way and his capable colleagues possessed the pioneering qualities Between them, therefore, they could bequeath to posterity a voice culture. It was in itself a refinement unbounded—nurtured by the cultural synthesis of the various concerned races drawn together by religion

and politics Barni tells us about such folk-forms as Kitab-Khwani, Hubb and Gilani Go further and in the interior listen to Kafi, Mahiya, Sohila, Baul, Bhatiyali, Jhakari (Chhakari ?) and you reach almost at the fountain-head of this voice culture All these had something or other to contribute Kitab-Khwani and above all Quran-Khwani had much more than others Think of the vocal mannerisms which mark out the recitation of Maulana Rums' masnavi or of the enthralling art of Qir'at and you are on the right track to know what ghazal imbibed and what has really been the contribution of Khusrau and his compatriots to the cause of medieval Indian music

And now to sum up:

Khusrau possessed a naturally melodious, highly modulated and powerful voice. This is now ascertainable.

> "My voice, which in ascendance, surpasses the plectrum-play of Venus, (even)"

—this is no vain boast, nor a conventional statement but a candid expression of known facts It, moreover, represents his musical optimum and is in full accord with the aesthetic best of the time he lived in It was an age when—Razm or Bazm—physical prowess ruled; vigour and speed mattered, sounds loudest in colour appealed to everybody; movements in quicker tempii attracted all. That is why the "accentuated tension" of the 'string' had a better say than that of the vocal chord, and why the voice had most to travel in the Upper Octave Also why faster cycles of rhythm sustained the interests better. That is how 'Uttaranga Ki Gayaki has a word of special favour to say about that age and how melodic movements in 'torrential rhythm' grew into so much of an urge since then "He sang and the mountains cried aloud" or "the throat-thrust of the nightingale on earth shot down the skying bird or "the honey-dipped fingers played on the Barbiton like the rolling clouds with dripping rain" or "the Iranian airs which flowed into the dry veins of the stringed lute in roaring rhythms of the seas" or (the Chang-play progressed) "transposing the treble-beat into double like magical waters falling wave after wave"—all these are Khusrau's own words pen-portraying what he and the society he lived in considered to be the best in melody and rhythm.

In the end, a word about the innovations traditionally ascribed to him In this regard, the foremost fact to be taken

into account is that Khusrau considered music to be a *Majlisi hunar*—a source of amusement· like flower-decoration, wine-bibbing, chewing paan or playing chess[51] The art of verse, on the other hand, was categorised by him as *'Ilm*—music being subservient to it

> "Poetry can thrive without balanced notes but Music is all meaningless without measured words "[52]

That was the crux of his argument The Concept of Absolute Music had no appeal for him He hooted it down as 'pure nonsense', a mere ہاں ہاں and ہوں ہوں [53] As such what he refers to as سرودِ ترِ دیگر is to be taken to be the music he composed evening after evening for his patrons and admirers during the span of about half a century It is yet to be discovered if within this period any melodic mode beside Sazgiri received that much of attention from him.

The popular belief that Sitar and even Tabla are his creations poses a still bigger problem because we have first to give full weight to the probability of it We have to agree with what has been written not with what has not been, at least we have to accept his own words in the matter—accept the one great single reality that just as he could not interest himself in the theory of music, he preferred to remain content with his god-gifted voice and the role of a poet-singer A Mutrib he never was and never aspired to be In this particular respect he was all-Indian—making others accompany him rather than providing accompaniment to others or playing a second fiddle even to his own voice

ازیں سو سدہ خسرو با ندیماں سخن می گفت زاوصاف کریماں
وزاں جانب محمد شاہ تر دست ہمی کرد از نوازش عقل مست

> ("On this side Khusrau, with other companions, singing praises of the Sultan Jalaluddin—and on the other side the fluent-fingered Mohammad Shah making the mind tipsy with his string-play ")

—this has been the uniform procedure; the art-habit of all the amateurs and even the leading professionals, too.

Khusrau had thus no impelling reason to attend to the mechanical devices of sound and rhythm. Even if he had he could not A devout Sufi, so near and dear to the great Saint, how could he?

Moreover, the actuality lies in saying that as Sitar—name and frame, both—has been known to mankind since biblical times,[54] Tabla is nowhere seen or heard of even centuries after Khusrau The Persian work, *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*,[55] dealing also with his times gives the pride of place to Pakhawaj which is on record to have done much to inspire the art of Dholak-playing, a Qawwali associate

What is, however, worth better fundamental interest is to gain a clear understanding of his sense of rhythm We know he delighted in the Mula Laya of Indian perception—now called teen tala Remember his playful effort: از پئ جاناں جاں ہم رفت and mark the time-pattern he has, may be unwittingly, articulated The Farsi Paran, as it ought to be known, runs like this:

از پئ جاناں   جاں ہم رفت   رفت رفت الخ

The sequence in which the syllables alternate and the sub-divisions combine equate this flawlessly with what has been identified as Farsi Ti-Tala, with the metrical schemes 5 4 4 3. To examine further:

AZ	PAYI	JA	NAN	JAN	HAM	RAFT
1	2/3	4	5	6/7	8	9
TA	DHIN	DHA	DHA	DHIN	DHA	DHA

JAN	HAM	RAFT	RAFT	RAFT [56]
10/11	12	13	14/15	16
DHIN	DHA	DHA	TIN	TA

Khusrau's verse as a Paran (drum-variants) with the drum-phrases.

It will be found that so much like Mughlayi Tala the climax-stroke (Sam) falls on a Khali and not very much like the Indian scheme the stress on 2/3, 6/7, 10/11 and 14/15 make the movement accentual alongwith its being quantitative. This has been a case of music asserting itself independent of mathematics, in a way In Pushtu tala, too, the stress on Dhin is likewise.

And to the extent Tin-tala has been natural to Khusrau as an Indian, its compatibles Kaherwa and Dadra also should have been. The former as well preserved for us, in verse-form, speaks for itself Please take note:

NAN	KI	KHUR-DI		KHA-NA		BI-RAU [57]	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
DHA	GE	NA	TI	NA	KE	DHI	NA

—not only that the 'exact time value of syllables in the verse' measure exact with the rhythmic time-units but that this very *theka* continues to remain exclusive for quawwali and geet, this is what matters most as it shows how with pure instinct could Khusrau feel the pulse beat of Indian music and procure recognition and respectability for some of its most promising though sadly neglected folk-forms

His proud appreciation of the 'Ravish' in making the *Usul-i-Seh Zarbi* and *Do Zarbi* flow into one another like "the oceans sharing their waves and their depths"[58] comes out in the open to endorse what has been surmised above

In the same strain something must be said about the terms denoting technique He had to design these having no patience for their sastric identity Also because he took delight in doing so [59] That may have been one of the reasons why most of these have been taken to mean what Khusrau never meant For instance:—

(i) BASIT—a rhythmic division, one of the Dayira constituents; a part of a rhythmic cycle In no way a melodic form as later Persian writers purport to say:[60]

(ii) NAQSH—What we call Bandish today. Barni down to Budayuni the technical idioms نقش روں & نقش بستن presumably taken from painting, hold good Nazīrī consummates its sense thus:

چوں نظم او ستاره و افلاک درہم اند آں ناظم جواہر نقش و تزیں چہ شد؟

According to him Naqsh was composition of melodic verse as Paran was of rhythmic verse;

(iii) NIGAR—Khusrau's ingenuity for alap Naqsh-u-Nigar is the popular compound in common talks also;

(iv) GUL—For the 'floral designs' woven in the shape of *tan* (Zava'id of Arabic) It was formalised and popularised by Khusrau for the sake of the ghazal art, to begin with.

(v) SOHILA—Same as sohil (Avadhi) sung even today on the occasion of child birth At the time Khusrau lived it was a form of folksong exclusively prevalent among Musalmaan women who sang it "not so much observant of raga and tala".[61]

Like the above there are several other innovations assigned to the musical genius of Amir Khusrau Of these almost all have been recognised as melodic modes compounded of Indian and alien airs Our knowledge as far as it could go in this direction enables us to say that —

ZILAF — may be believed to have originated as Zir-Afgand, same as Kuchak, of the Perso-Arabic system, was transported to India during the Ghaznavid period, re-christened here as Bhinna Sadja then consecrated as Bhairava [63]

The author of *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* writing of Khusrau's days informs that Bhairava then sung omitted Rikhab (Rasabha) How interesting that this is exactly what is done to distinguish ZILAF from BHAIRAVA . [64]

MUHAIYIR — incorrectly read as Mujir, etc , must have accompanied Arabic qaul as Khusrau has tried to make this specific In its future course, it combined Nawa with Multani, the later an adaptation no doubt of the Suhrawardi Saint, Sheikh Bahauddin Zakaria Multani, preceding Khusrau by about 27 years . [64]

GHUNM — Commonly read as Ghanam, is another name for the gem of a tune discovered by Khusrau in Purab 'des' Its original name—Purbi—had better vitality to survive in spite of lack of timely recognition by the sastras .[65]

BAKHARZ — is one of the select pardas of Amir Vashmgir writing his *Qabus-Nama* between 462-475 A.H. (1069-1082 A.D.).

FARGHANA — Both of these (Bakharz & Farghana) happened to be the popular-most modes of the region from where a few top-ranking musicians—imaginary or real—came to hold a tournament with Khusrau.....[66]

FARODAST — Ibn-i-Ghaibi writing a few decades later than Khusrau gives the four limbs (qit'a) of the Nauba(Naubat) as. qaul, ghazal, tarana and furudasht. On this side, Locan Kavi who lived and worked about the same time as Ibn-i-Ghaibi writes about 'Phirodast' not as a form but as a melodic compound with Purbi, Gauri, Syama, Varadi and Vanga as its colourful components

The apparent conflict may be reduced on the basis of a form being associated with a mode—melodic or rhythmic (Dadra, for instance) but what provides a clue so vital is that all these four forms—qaul, ghazal, tarana and furudasht travelled west so early and so gloriously.

We prefer to read it as furudasht as it explains better Furudasht literally means a 'dying away of sound' which it was as the concluding item of naubat-playing [67]

SARPARDA — so called because it had to be regarded as the leading Parda for more than one reason.

According to the Sanskrit musicologist Vithala (of *Raga-manjari*), a protege of Akbar's General, Raja Man Singh Kachwaha, Sarparda is another name for Bilaval which is saying almost the same thing in favour of the Persian Maqam, Raast.

This hepta-tonic melody was given a smart touch of the hexta-tonic, (making it thus imbibe the spirit of Sarang. .) near about the time Khusrau lived as after him the tendency to use Sanskrit/ Prakrit names for elephants and ragas started asserting itself; moreover Khusrau

himself found it worthwhile to record that "the string-maestros of his days experimented on Raast right and left" [68].

GHARA — came from the land of Ghor, in the wake of Kamboji (Khammaj / Khammach), this is certain Could find no place in Granthas or even in Khusrau's writings but its singular feature of being a "seedhey saroop ka raga" and the few Tasneefat the text of which is still intact tend to prove it to be one of the contributions of Musalmaan *gayaks* of pre-Akbar era—may be of the very period we have under view .[69]

YEMAN — Sanskritised as Iman, first welcomed in Kalyan or by Kalyan, on arrival from the Arab land, and made to accept the congenial company of Shoba-i-Nayiriz from Persia All this must have happened during Khusrau's life-time for we first come across it and that too as a basic melody nearabout 777 A H (1375 A D) in Locan Kavi's *Raga Tarangini* [70]

The melodic blend known as Eman Basant goes back to him Nawab Saif Khan believes it to be Khusrau's. [71]

USHSHAQ — is the very first Maqam talked about by Khusrau's predecessor, so reverently remembered by him, the illustrious Safiuddin Abdul Momin . [72]

Ibn-i-Sina also spoke about it, fixing it appropriate time in relation to the noon-day prayer.

MUWAFIQ — we are yet on its trail.

These are almost all the main melodies allotted by convention to Khusrau's inventive genius. But how strange, not a word from any audible quarter about zavul and ghazal which have a better claim on him than many others.[73] Similarly, we have to trace

back the cases of say pilu, suha, sughrayi and sarang to their initial benefactor Khusrau is sure to figure out somewhere in this quest, too

And this has to be said with all vehemence because, in the last analysis, his musical genius is at its best seen not while tinkering with a foreign air here or a mixed melody there but at the helm of the dichotomy which emerges with Multan and Sind going Arab, Lahore to Delhi and their dependencies going Turk and the vast country called India going more or less its own way. In those days of cultural confrontation he has been the first, on his own saying too, to propound a panacea for 'converting every rai into a yar' It was, again to quote his words 'drown the dirt and dive out the pearl' He did this against all trends and tendencies to the contrary That is how inspite of the parallelism which was to converge more than two centuries later into all embracing Tansen he is there soft-bending the rigid lines the saptaka to co-exist with astaka, the madhyam to view with its inborn dignity the new love-pranks of kharaj and pancham, the bhinna sadja to lean with favour towards the ati-komal 're' and, above all, the norms of Abhivyakti to make aesthetic adjustments with those of the Nisbat-i-naghmat Khusrau begins his prose-talk on musiqi[71] raising Venus to the status of a Baikar-'Vac-geya-kara' Verily he knew what a vaggeyakara stood for He was himself one and that too in a big way

References

1 *Nuh Sipihr*, III

من به زبان های کسان بیشتری
کرده ام از طبع شناسا گذری

دانم و در نامه و گفته هم
هست ورق شده زان بیش و کم

2 *Nuh Sipihr, III*

3 Dibacha of *Tuhfat-u-Sighar*

4 He was a poet-musician senior in age to Khusrau Once Kishli Khan gave all the horses in his stable to him for having composed a '*nazam*' in his praise, for setting it to tune for the royal musicians and presenting it with proper effects before Balban

The incident is to be taken note of as Khusrau was next to play the same role though with much better and consistent success

5 *Nuh Sipihr, III*

6 Even in the South, as its derivatives KARNATA and DRAVIDA indicate

7 In PARSVADEVA'S Sanskrit work *Sangita Samaya Sara* it is interesting to note that the name of the work 'Essence of the time in Music' hints at the syncretic tendencies prevailing Turuska' is same as Turk

The only other penta-tonic (of 5 notes) melody of this tribe has been Desala Gauda, the folk character of which is similar to that of the Turuska variety

8 As Khusrau likes to call the people of Hindustan and Khurasan-Kirman

9 The distant but direct ancestors of today's Kacchi, Kafi, Multani Kafi, Bulla Shah Ki Kafi and not of the well known Kafi Raga or Kafi That

10 The Sanskrit Granthas take notice of it later on

11 From the *'Malfuzat'*

12 *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp 156-57, AMU ب احبار نمبر III

13 Ibid, pp 158-161 It continues to live on as laoni and ghazal of present-day Nao-tanki

14 Translated 'Unlike Khusrau, what I write is poetry'

15 The style of کمال اسمٰعیل اصفہانی (Kamal Ismail Isfahani)

16 Condensed from his *Dibacha-i-Wast-ul-Hayat*

17 Barni, p 199

18 The metres of poetry and song being effectively common in Arab-Persian music and melody too measured, quite often, according to the prosodical feet this came in the natural way

19 From his divan

20 Khusrau has had much to say about the music of Devagiri In a 'qasida' (Nihayatul Kamal) he says

" the music is such that each stroke of the plectrum makes Venus cry with jealousy like her own harp"

Further on he adds · There is no wonder if by their music a dead man is brought back to life, for the musical expression in the heart of every melodic note infuses new life . .

21 *Nuh Sipihr, III.*

22 See Supra

23 In classical "qaul" a do-baiti, also in Arabic, has been the conventional way That is how later on Persian do-baiti succeeded it and formed part of the Arabic "qaul" Still later, only RUBAYI (do-baiti) constituted "qaul", as part of the same legacy

24. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, AMU Ms 609/6, f 279

25 *Baqiyya-i-Naqiyya*—this collection was made after Alauddin's death, in 716 A.H. (1316AD), when the poet was about 64. The

'grading' of ghazal may, therefore, be taken to represent his most mature judgment

26 This Duhul, remembered by Barni as Dholak and also as Dholki had been naturalised in India towards the advent of the Christian era, as the sculptured pieces of Ajanta and Bharhut and the writings of Patanjali testify

27 The art of Tali (hand-clap) has been so virile in Punjab—Multan since at least post-Vedic times Panini (3,2,55) informs that clap-experts were a class by themselves and were known then as ताडघ

28 Every representative Chishtiya Sama is expected to open even today with it

29 H G F, History, Intro, p xiii here Alili stands for singing and Ninguti for play of instruments

30 C F *Rasail-ul-Aijaz*, p 281, and elsewhere

31 Of Nawab Mohammed Ishaq Khan The text reads

الهی تسب مں فول المعاصی

دریوم ساد توم توم تاتنا تنا نا نا نا درتا لالے مالا لالے

درلے درلے نا یوم تنا درتوم تنا نا نا

درتوم ' توم نا سا تنانا

32 e g *Kitab-i-Chishtiya*, by Sheikh Alauddin Sami Barnavi, a manuscript dated 1065 AH (1654 AD) which should be in the Shirani Collection Pakistan

33 Written sometimes between 457AH (1065 AD) and 462AH (1069-AD) but in no way later than 475 A H i e 1082 A D

34 *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* f 31 [a] — the rare document introduced by Begum Khurshid N Hasan, History Congress 1961

35 Most of the 'Tarana' compositions believed to be oldest and on record exhibit this characteristic

36 For instance the one by late Prof Habib, which need not be repeated here

37 *Nuh-Sipihr*, the relevant lines run as

چوں نہ ماند بہ دل خلقی یار گرچہ سد رادہ بہاں داں کہ نہ زاد

38 According to Bharata (not earlier than 3rd century A D), its earlier form Sura Seni was a language of the Dhruva songs His commentators regard it as the sweetest of the seven dialects. and best suited for secular singing

39 The permissible limit of interpolation in word-structure by the units of prosody

40. *Rasail*, p 276

41 تار and نیاز written but for 'dots' similarly

42 *Qıranu's-Sadaın*, p 137

43 *Rasaıl*, p 286, the lines read

ما توایم کرا برشتم باریک چو موی   دیل دو پردهٔ سه‌گاه بهم بر دوریم

44 Compare Barnı talkıng of Khusrau (p 359)—

" و درعلم موسیقی گفتن و ساختن کمال داشت "

45 Analogous to *Devagırı*, Khusrau was so much enamoured of

46 As Khusrau has to say Sazgırı tonally agreed wıth Iraq, too (*Qıranus Sadaın*)

47 Not necessarıly correspondıng to standard melodıes but ın all probabılıty a judıcıous admıxture of up-comıng folk tunes approprıated by the practısed art of the tımes as Qawwalı, Basant, Sohını Qawwalı, Qawwalı Paraj, Qawwalı Ramkalı or Qawwalı Jyajavantı etc ,

48 Tradıtıonally enumerated as Zu-bahr, Usul Fakhta, Chahar-Zarb, Khamsa and Farodast, etc but as far as the art of sıngıng ghazal was concerned only Qawwalı Theka of Dadra and Kaherwa or Tı-Tala reduced to theır tempo, or Rupaka sıgnıficantly referred to even now as Farsı Chal kı Tal were commonly employed

49 May be even Yeman somewhere ın the base, or any other of Marwa Thath mıxed wıth Persian Awazas of the same temperament

50 A clue of farthest reachıng sıgnıficance ıs thıs The sıngıng voıce fell ın swıft cataracts of sound, ı e the Tana—flourıshes ın fashıon those days were what may be technıcally termed as 'Avarohı kı Tanen' Thıs leads to two very useful facts (ı) that Tara-Sthana kı Kharaj was often manıfested ın best of colours, (ıı) that ın accent (Arohı) a straıght sweep of the voıce was aımed at

51 *Rasaıl* pp 241 et seq, ın particular the ıntroductıon he gives to the IXth Khatt by the phrase
elucıdated further ın the same straın,

52 *Dibacha-ı-Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*

53. The relavant lınes

ہاں وہاں و ہوں و ہوں و بیہودہ است تالستوی   (غرة الکمال)

———— ————

ورکند مطرب بسی ہاں ہاں و ہوں ہوں در سرود   (کلیات)

54 Odes of Solomon (iv, xıv)—Kıthara, Homer. the tortoise lyre from Asıa mınor, the Kıtaris Qıtara of Arabıc; Cıtra of classıcal India .

Even Nızami, Khusrau's life-long favourite, had much in advance spoken about Barbud's lute.

سیتا مر باربد آوازی داد

This Sita' has also been read as Sıtar.

55 The Ms discovered and introduced by Begum Khurshid N Hasan, see at ff4 , 45^2, 46^2 etc

56 It corresponds as such with no Arabic metre although it sounds somewhat like بحر متدارک , the one devised and developed in India

57 So much like متدارک metre, proving thus the temporal affinity between Titala and Kaherwa

58 *Rasail*, p 276, the passage reads

"بحر مراحانی که ورفاچوں کاعد سه بحری چنگ را در روش دو بحره داشته و بحری انگیخته که احداں موج او برو الخ

59 eg the figures of speech such as مخل المعانی & قلب اللسانین ـ وصل الحروین ـ و دو ئد etc mostly his own innovations standing testimony to his love of languages including Indian dialects

60 Even Nawab Saif Khan, author of *Raga Darpan* (Persian)

61 *Ghunyat-ul-Munya*, f 42^b

62 Kuchak, also known as Zir-i-Khurd, has so much in common with Bhinna Sadja that it is worth further probe,

63 *Ghunyat-ul-Munya* introduced by Begum Khurshid N Hasan, see at f 11^a

64 *Rasa'il*, pp 276 and 286, compare

ا ـ گاه سه ول های حماری که بر ساں عرصهٔ عرب محترّ است حیرتی انگیرید، وگاه الخ

ب ـ میگویید که پیش علم ما که محیّر اہل طرب است . الخ

65 Purvi (Purbi) has better survived as a folk-tune, out of books,

66 *Rasail*, p 284 at seq

67 H G F (Henry George Farmer), History, pp 199-200

68 *Qiranu's-Sadain* 137

گاه ترنم به نوآی که حاست حاسپ چپ گرده شد از راهِ راست

69 See *Maarif-un-Nazahmat*, by Thakur Nawab Ali, pp 195-96 and the Persian compositions of Ghara to be found in the 'Bayaz' of Gharana Qawwals .

70 It has been cited as a 'mela', a parent-raga, which fact establishes its standing in the country as well as its prevalence

71 *Raga Darpan*, f 26.

72 the virtuoso of Baghdad, Khusrau remembers him, in his *Rasail*, p 280, along with *Kalan Watan-Hindi*, Kalanwat is the same as Kalavanta.

73 His writings are replete with cogent remarks about these two, some read

سرود پراو مطرب فرخنده فال نیزه رباب چنگ تهمتن مثال

دور صبا دار غزل واز عمل رخش رواں کرده بزاول چوزال

74. Referred to as *Rasail* in this paper. see Khatt IX, Harf III p. 275.

A Persian Poet Par Excellence

S. A. H. ABIDI

Indo-Persian literature is one of the most treasured gifts in the rich store-house of Indian culture. It was the creative expression of the cultural synthesis achieved during the medieval period of our history and marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Indian culture. Throughout this period of our history, Persian served not only as a state language, but also as the common medium of communication among the intelligentsia all over the country. In classical Persian literature three distinct styles have been recognised by Iranian scholars, and the Indian style (*Sabk-i-Hindi*) is one of them. Amir Khusrau, *Tuti-i-Hind* (The Parrot of India), is the founder of this style, and is undoubtedly the top ranking Persian poet of India, whose greatness has been acknowledged by scholars of Persian in India and abroad where Persian has been in vogue. Daulat Shah Samarqandi, the author of the *Tazkiratush-Shuara*, has given him the epithet of Khatimul-Kalam (The brightest star in the galaxy of poets).

Ziauddin Barni, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, says, "The incomparable Amir Khusrau stands unequalled for the volume of his writings and the originality of his ideas...A man with such mastery over all the forms of poetry has never existed in the past and may perhaps not come into existence before the Day of Judgment".[1] Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi pays glowing tribute to him and says, "He is the Sultan of the poets, and the proof of the learned. In the valley of speech, he is unique in the world and is the essence of mankind. In speech, he is a world from the worlds of God, that has no end. Whatever, in the art of poetry and its various forms has accrued to him from the subject-matter and meaning, to none else among the ancient and subsequent poets has it occurred."[2] Maulana Shibli, the author of the *Sherul-Ajam*, describes him in similar terms and writes, "No person of such comprehensive ability has been born in India during the last six hundred years, and even the fertile soil of Persia has produced only three or four of such varied accomplishments."[3]

Dr Wahid Mirza describes him in these words, "Amir Khusrau was one of those few lucky authors who live long enough to see their fame spread far and wide, to have the satisfaction of their worth being recognised by their contemporaries and to be able to visualize the prospect of an ever increasing popularity and renown down in the depths of time among generations and nations yet unborn "[4] Joel Waiz Lal waxes eloquent in dealing with the literary achievements of Amir Khusrau and writes, "Amir Khusrau is one of the most prominent writers of this period, and, in many directions, an original poet He has not the keen characterisation of Nizami, the insight and penetration of Maulana Rum, or the charming realism of Firdausi, but he has a lovely symbolism, magnificent diction, pure eloquence, glowing fervour, soft touch, beautiful colouring, and an amazing command of language "[5] Dr Shafaq observes "Amir Khusrau's poetry as a special trait traceable in the works of other Persian poets of India in varying degrees, and this peculiar trait finally crystalized into Sabk-i-Hindi (Indian style) "[6]

The late Professor Faridi has paid his tribute to our poet in a truly poetic style in these words, " . there shown out on the sky of Persian, in India, a brilliant star which succeeded in keeping its light steady by the side of many luminaries of Persia It is no other than Amir Khusrau of Delhi He is the only Indian who received the title of *Tuti-i-Hind* from the Persians "[7] Perhaps he refers to the well-known verse of Hafiz[8] —

Shakkar shikan shawand hame tytiyan-i-Hind
Zin qand-i-Parsi ki ba Bangale mirawad

"The sugar-loving birds of India, except a Persian sweetmeat that was brought to fair Bengal, have found naught to their mind "[9]

Abul Hasan Khusrau, son of Amir Saifuddin Mahmud [d. 659 A H (1261 A.D)], a Turkish noble, was born at Patiali in the district of Etah, U P in 651 A H (1253 A D.). But he lived all his life in Delhi, and that is why he is called Dehlavi. His deep love for this city and its inhabitants is abundantly clear from the following verses.—

Ai Dehlivaiy butane sadeh,
Pag bastau risheh kaj nihadeh.
Jai ki barah kunand gulgasht,
Dar kucheh damad gule piyadeh,

Shan dar rahu ashiqan ba dumbal,
Khunabeh ze didagan kushadeh
Khurshid parast shud Musalman,
Zin Hindugane shukhu sadeh

"O Delhi and its young beauties with turbans placed roguishly awry on their heads!
Wherever they stroll the path blooms with moving flowers
They stroll along, while in their wake follow their lovers with bloody tears flowing from their eyes
These saucy young Hindus have made the Musalmans sunworshippers "[10]

The late Professor Habib is of the view that Delhi in all her phases—the eloquence of her preachers, the ecstatic discourses of her mystics and the alluring blandishments of her dancing girls—and when he took up his pen to write, he found his heart throbbing with the deepest human emotions "[11] If Delhi is proud of the Qutb Minar and her rich culture, she should be equally proud that she has produced the greatest Persian poet of India

Though a born genius, Khusrau owes his greatness in no small measure to his spiritual guide, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya Mahbub Ilahi,[12] who was the chief inspirer and nourisher of his talents He encouraged him in his literary pursuits and conferred on him the title of Turkullah· Amir Khusrau gratefully acknowledges the receipt of this honour and further seeks the blessings of his preceptor in the following lines·

Bar zabanat chun khitabe bandeh Turkullah raft,
Daste Turkullah bigiru ham ba Allahash sipur

"As you have been pleased to call your servant the "Turk of God, hold his hand and give him in God's custody "[13]

Khusrau on his part had also merged his personality in that of his preceptor and has made his poetry a mirror which reflects his master's mystic sublimity and inner greatness For example the poet is said to have addressed him in the following beautiful and lyrical lines·

Tu shabineh minumai babare Ke budi imshab,
Ke hanuz chashme mastat asare Khumar darad

"You look sleepless and tired, in whose embrace did you pass the night, for your drowsy eyes have still traces of tipsiness?"[14]

It perhaps alludes to the sleepless nights of devotion of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya

Once Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, wearing an awry cap, was sitting on the banks of the Jamuna and was watching the Hindu pilgrims having dips in the sacred river followed by customary prayers by turning their faces towards the sun The saint recited the following line

Har qaum rast rahi dine was qiblagahi

"Every people has a path, a religion and a focus of devotion"

Amir Khusrau who was also present there at once recited the other half of the couplet

Man qibla rast Kardam bar simte Kajkulahi

"We, however, offer our prayers with our faces towards a beloved who wears his cap tilted"

Some qawwals (devotional singers) were singing this line before Emperor Jahangir [15] When he asked its significance, Mulla Ali Muhrkan (The Seal-Engraver) related the whole episode By the time the qawwals finished the songs, Mulla's condition began to deteriorate, and ultimately he died on the spot

The saint loved the poet so much that he could not bear his separation even for a moment, and once observed, "I hope on the Day of Judgment to be expunged of all blames by the fire that burns in the heart of this Turk He is the keeper of my secrets, and I shall not set foot in paradise without him If it were lawful, I should have instructed you to bury him in the same grave with me so that we two always remain together " [16]

Amir Khusrau also was so much attached to his spiritual master that when he heard of his death, he lost patience, tore his garments, blackened his face, recited this Hindi verse on the grave and fainted

Gori suwe sej par, mukh par dare kes,
Chal Khusro ghar apne, rain bahi sab des

"The fair one lies on couch with black tresses scattered on her face ,
O Khusrau, come home now, for night has fallen " [17]

He did not survive the shock for long and died a few months later in 725 A H (1325 A D) and was buried at the foot of his master

Kings have come and gone, emperors have risen and fallen but the graves of the great saint and his illustrious disciple are still visited by the pilgrims year in and year out, and the people irrespective of castes and creeds pay their homages to them Mankind still draws inspiration from their messages of universal love and tolerance, unity and catholocity, humanity and brotherhood Dr Wahid Mirza writes, "The old Delhi is now a wilderness of ruins, the Red Palace, the Green Pavilion, the Palace of Thousand Pillars, and the New Palace the scenes of his poetic successes are 'one with Nineveh and Tyre', and can hardly be traced in the tangle of ruins that stretches for miles outside Delhi—the New Delhi of Shahjahan The strong citadel of Tughlaq is still there, grand and defiant, but one looks in vain in it for the crystal springs and the golden walls The saint and his beloved disciple, however, sleep in peace in their sanctuary There is still a green cover over their graves, still fresh flowers are strewn on them and still the lamp lights the darkness and attracts the moths, and still the qawwals sing and recite ghazals of divine love at their shrines, while tombs of mighty kings like Alauddin have disappeared or are but mounds of decaying bricks and plaster "[18]

I have endeavoured to show that the message of the saint and the poetry of his favourite disciple both supplemented each other in the development of Sufistic ideas, in practising divine love, higher values and the growth of human personality One has to bear in mind that it is not possible to fully appreciate the poetry of Amir Khusrau without realising his intimate relationship with his spiritual guide and master In the words of Prof Habib, "No biographer of Amir Khusrau can afford to ignore the influence exercised on him by Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya—Though their characters differed widely, there was a strong bond of sympathy between them "[19]

Amir Khusrau was a versatile genius, whose colourful personality has enriched our traditions and has contributed a great deal to the development of our composite culture He was a great poet, an equally great prose-writer, a shrewed courtier, a soldier, a man of the world, a Sufi, a scholar, a historian, a linguist, a patriot, a noble, an artist, a man of wit and humour, a great musician, and above all a great Indian If he attended the courts of the Slave, Khalji and Tughlaq kings and nobles and

accompanied them in battlefields, he did not miss the opportunity of sitting in the company of Sufis and mendicants, if he enriched Persian prose and poetry, he also deserves credit for enriching our vernaculars He is also regarded as a pioneer in bringing about a confluence of Persian and Hindi, which gradually developed into Hindustani and Urdu He is proud of his race, country and mother tongue —

> *Turke Hindustaniyam man Hinduwi guyam jawab ,*
> *Shakkare Misri nadaram Kaz Arab guyam sukhan*
>
> "I am an Indian Turk and can answer in Hindi .
> I have no Egyptian sugar (i e Arabic) to talk of Arabia " [20]

However, his crowning achievements lie in the fields of Indo-Persian poetry where he reigns supreme

No doubt he studied and drew inspiration from great Persian masters like Anwari (d. 588 A H) (1192 A D) and Sanai (d 545 A H) (1150 A.D) He himself admits it when he says, "My eyes and intellect brightened when I saw the writings of Anwari and Sanai, and whenever I beheld poem bright as gold-water I chased it like a running stream Every diwan I came across, I not only studied but held it as a model for my compositions " [21] But he was gifted with an unique genius to evolve his own style and to preserve his distinct identity Indian as he was, he held a mirror to Indian life and culture through his poetry

Maulana S Sulaiman Nadvi writing about him says, "Amir Khusrau used the dust of India as a collyrium for his eyes . His heart was made of Indian clay " [22] Thus, indigenous elements are integral ingredients of his poems He has praised India and her climate, her art and languages, her flowers and birds, her elephants and horses, her mangoes and water-melons, her music and dance, her clothes and food, her spring and beauty, her youths and girls, the fidelity of her men and women.

Amir Khusrau was a prolific writer and is credited with the authorship of innumerable verses and a number of prose works. He has left diwans named *Tuhfatus-Sighar* (The Gift of Adolescence), *Wastul-Hayat* (The Middle of Life), *Ghurratul-Kamal* (The Prime of Perfection), *Baqiyya Naqiyya* (The choicest Remnant) and the *Nihayatu'l-Kamal* (The Apex of Perfection). Besides, he wrote the *Panj Ganj* (Five Treasures), after the model of

the *Khamsa* of Nizami [23] Their titles are *Matlaul-Anwar* (Flood-lit Horizon), *Shirin-u-Khusrau, Aina-i-Sikandari* (The Alexandrian Mirror), *Hasht Bahisht* (The Eight Heavens) and *Majnun-u-Laila* Besides, he composed historical poems such as *Qiranu's-Sadain* (The conjunction of the two auspicious planets), *Miftahul-Futuh* (The Key of Conquest), *Ishqiya* or *Deval Rani Khizr Khan* and *Tughlaqnamah* In addition to them, he has left other Persian poetical works, some of which have been lost to us Maulana Abdur-Rahman Jami [24] has acclaimed him as the author of more than ninety works in prose and poetry But Nawab Ishaq Khan could not trace more than forty-five

It is said that three masnawis of Amir Khusrau were transcribed by Hafiz, the greatest ghazal-writer in Persian literature, and they are to be found in the Tashkent library of the U S S R But some Iranian scholars have declined to identify the scribe of these manuscripts with the well known poet of Shiraz

Khusrau has tried his hand on all forms of poetry, has composed quatrains and fragments and has established his reputation as a masnawi and qasida-writer But his eminence as a poet mainly rests on his ghazals, which are still sung by the qawwals and read in Indian schools, colleges and universities These ghazals truly depict the inner feelings of divine lovers

Sufism is the soul of Persian poetry especially ghazal In fact, ghazal has grown and developed with the rise of Sufistic ideas Maulana Shibli says, "Sufism appeared in the third century A H (9th century A D) But it reached its consummation in the fifth century A H (11th century A D), which is the first New Year Day of ghazal " [25] Thus, to appreciate fully the delicacy of Khusrau's lyric poetry and its depths mystic mind and ecstatic soul is required.

The Persian critics have found fault with the Indian style for its excessive use of similes and metaphors, and an over abundance of figurative words and constructions Further, the writings of Indian poets are criticised for being burdened with artificiality, and verbosity, exaggeration and far-fetched ideas. However, Amir Khusrau, as a member of Indian writers, may be an exception, as he generally uses simple language to express himself.

Ghazal is the best form of Persian poetry, and Amir Khusrau, without a doubt, is one of the best ghazal-writers in Persian literature. The chief characteristics of ghazal are purity and

simple fluency, delicacy and fire, tenderness and elegance love and life, softness and refinement, rhythm and harmony, music and melody, frenzy and a burning passion, which abound in the lyrics of Amir Khusrau and thrill the minds and souls of readers Major Sleeman has correctly assessed the talent of the poet when he said that Amir Khusrau "sang extempore to his lyre while the greatest and fairest watched his lips to catch expressions as they came warm from his soul "[26]

Dr Wahid Mirza dealing with Khusrau's lyrics says, "Their charm is vague and elusive, subtle and inexpressible Many of his poems are full of fervent love, a fiery passion capable of both exoteric as well as esoteric interpretation This, coupled with their peculiar melodiousness, has made his poems extremely popular with the Sufis who listen to them with rapt attention from the lips of the qawwals as their brethern did in the poet's life-time yet, at the same time there are other poems in a gentler and more restrained vein, which fill our hearts with vague longings, tender joy or a soft melancholy Still others are boisterously joyful, overflowing with the joys of physical love—the fair women, the music, the wine, the flowers, the pleasant summer, the singing birds and the flowing waters the lyrics form the most important part of Khusrau's poetry and that his fame rests more upon their excellence, than on anything else "[27] Prof Habib pays an equally rich tribute when he writes, "As a writer of ghazals Khusrau has been equalled but not surpassed His mind held in a happy proportion the two elements required to produce lyric poetry of the highest excellence---fine ear for music and a heart that feels and can express its feelings "[28]

Some of the ghazals and lyrical lines of Khusrau are given here as specimens of his poetry Some of these are still sung by the qawwals .

Dilam dar ashiqi awareh shud awarah tar bada ;
Tanam az bidili bichareh shud bichareh tar bada
Gar aiy zahid duae khair migui mara in go,
Ki un awarae kuye butan awareh tar bada
Hameh guyand kaz khunkharyiyash khalqi bajan amad,
Man in guyam ki bahare jane man khunkhareh tar bada

My heart has become a wanderer in love May it ever remain a wanderer

My life has been rendered extremely miserable by love May it grow more and more miserable
O devotee! if you ever pray for me, kindly pray that the wanderer in the street of the beautiful ever roam in the same street
Everyone is complaining that the people are fed up with their lives on account of the cruelty of my beloved,
I would rather wish that my heart is subjected to still greater cruelty

Kafire Ishqam Musalmani mara dar Kar nist ,
Har rage jan tar gashteh hajate zunnar nist
Khalq miguyad ke Khusrau but parasti mikunad,
Are are mikunaman ba khalk mara kar nist

Having embraced the infidelity of love, I need not remain a Muslim ,
Every vein of my body has become a piece of thread, so I can dispense with the Brahmanical thread
People accuse Khusrau of being a worshipper of idol ,
Yes, I confess, I am, but I have nothing to do with others

Khabaram rasid imshab ki nigar Khwahi amad ,
Sare man fidae rahi ki swar khwahi amad

Hameh ahuwane sahra sare khud nihadeh dar kaf,
Baumide anki ruzi bashikarkhwahi amad
Kashishi ki ishq darad naguzaradat badinsan ;
Bajanazh gar nayai bamazar Khwahi mad
Balabam rasideh janam tu duya ki zandeh manam ,
Pas az anki man namanam bache kar khwahi amad
Bayak amdan rabudi dilu dinu jane Khusrau ,
Che shawad agar badinsan du se bar khawahi amad

O my beloved! I have got the news that you are going to visit me tonight ,
May I lay down my head on the path on which you will come riding
In the hope that some day you will set out on a hunting expedition,
All the gazalles of the desert are eagerly looking forward to die at your hands

The magnetism of love will not leave you unmoved ,
If you do not attend my funeral, you will perforce come to my grave
I am in the agonies of death, pray come and save my life ,
What purpose will it serve if you come when I am no more ?
By your one visit, you have robbed Khusrau of his heart and faith and life ,
I wonder what is going to happen if you pay me a few such visits more ?

Jan ze tan burdi wa dar jani hanuz ,
Dardha dadi wa darmani hanuz
Mulki dil Kardi Kharab az te ghe naz,
Wandarin wiraneh sultani hanuz
Her du alam qimate khud guftai ,
Nirkh bala Kun ki arzani hanuz
Jan ze bande kalbad azad gasht ,
Dil bagesue tu zindana hanuz.
Piriu shahid parasti na khush ast ;
Khusrawa ta kai parishani hanuz

"Thou takest life out of our clay
And yet within our hearts doth live--
Inflicting on us pang on pang
Doth yet a palliative give
Thy flashing sword has laid all waste
The troubled garden of my heart ,

Yet what a glory to this wreck
The rays of Thy great throne impart!
"The two vain, empty worlds," they say,
"Is price that all must pay for Thee."
Raise up the value, raise the cost.
This is too cheap—as all can see.
From this vain tenement of clay
My soul one day shall freedom find ;
And yet my heart for ever shall
Remain with Thy great love entwined.
Khusrau ! Thy grey locks and old age
Sort not with love for idols young !
And yet for such a senseless quest
Thou hast thy soul for ever flung".[29]

Bakhubi hamchu mah tabindeh bashi ,
Bamulke dilbari payindeh bashi
Mane darwish ra kushti baghamzeh ,
Karam Kardi Ilahi zindeh bashi
Jafa Kam Kun ki farda ruze Mahshar ,
Baruye ashiqan sharmindeh bashi
Ze qaide dujahan azad basham ,
Agar tu hamnashine bandeh bashi
Jahan suzi agar dar ghamzeh ai ,
Shakar rizi agar dar Khandeh Bashi
Barindiyu bashukhi hamchu Khusrau ,
Hazaran Khanuman barkandeh bashi

May your charming face ever shine like the full moon ,
May you hold eternal sway over the domains of beauty
By your amorous glance you have killed a poor man like me ;
How magnanimous of you ? May god give you a long life
Pray do not be cruel lest you should feel ashamed of yourself
Before your lovers on the Day of Judgement
I shall be set free from the bonds of attachment with the two worlds,
If you become my companion for a while
If you indulge in coquetry, you will consume the whole world ,
If you laugh, you will scatter sugar all around
By your wanton playfulness you must have destroyed
thousands of hearts and lovers like that of Khusrau

Before I conclude I may add that the following ghazal attributed to Amir Khusrau is one of the most fascinating pieces of lyrical compositions and is on the lips of every qawwal, although it is surprising that it could not be traced in any of the manuscript copies of the works of the poet

Nami danam chi manzil bud shab jai ki man budam ,
Bahar su raqse bismil bud shab jai ki man budam
Pari paikor nigari sarw gaddi lala rukhsari ;
Sarapa afate dil bud shab jai ki man budam
Khuda khud mire majlis bud andar lamakan Khusrau ,
Muhammad shame mahfil bud shab jai ki man budam

I wonder what was the place where I spent last night,
All around me I saw only the half-slaughtered victims of love
tossing about in agony.

There was a nymph-like beloved with cypress-like form and tulip-like face.
Ruthlessly playing havoc with the hearts of the lovers
O Khusrau ! God Himself was the master of ceremonies in that court of Heaven.
Where (the face of) the Prophet himself was shedding light like a candle

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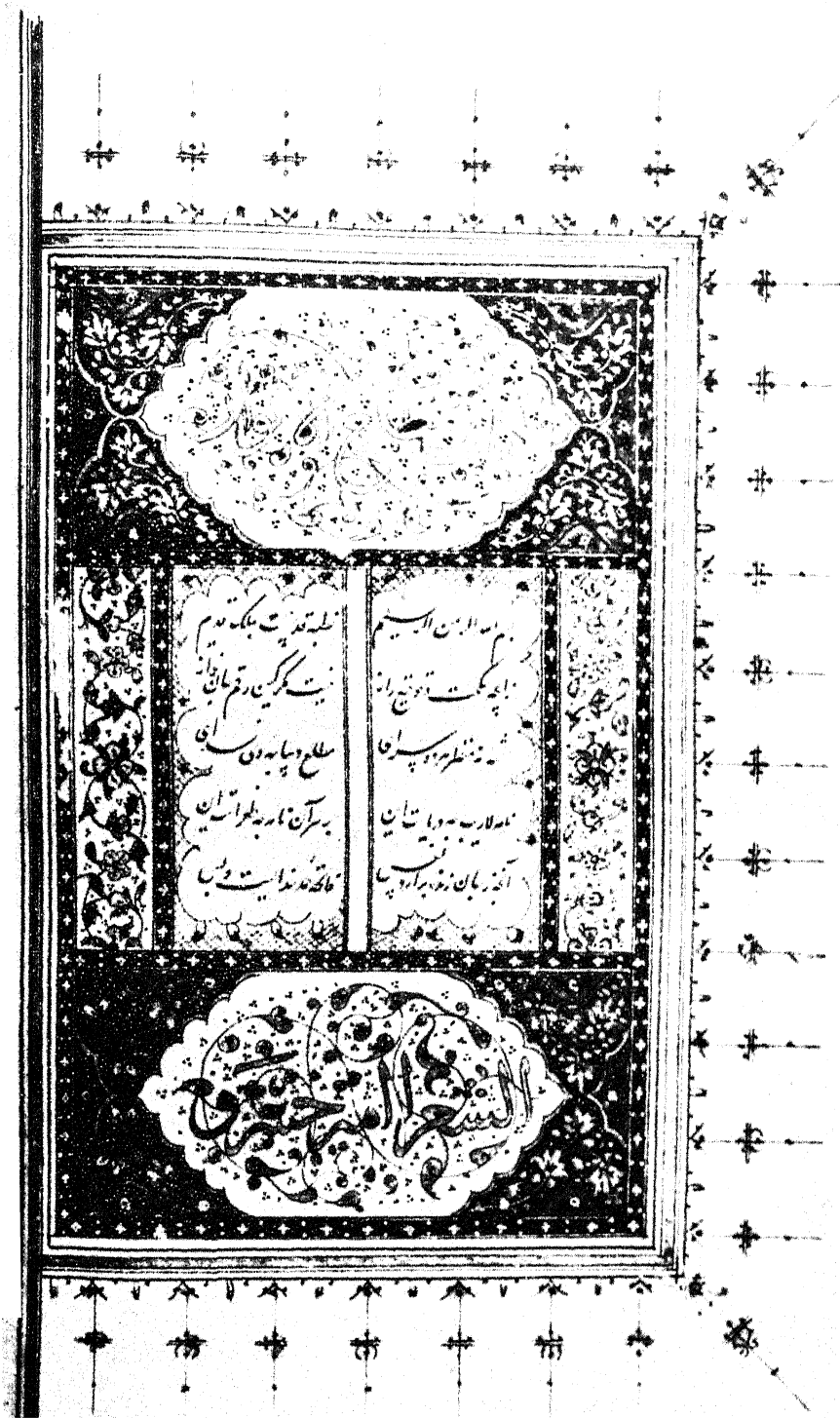

The first page of the illustrated "Matla-ul-Anwar" of Amir Khusrau.

Persian Love Poetry of Amir Khusrau

A. A ANSARI

Pride of place among Indian poets of Persian most likely goes to Hazrat Amir Khusrau. He had inherited from his father, Amir Saifuddin Mahmood, who was Turkish by birth, not only a certain strong fibre of personality but also considerable amount of vigour and initiative He was a man of a wide-ranging curiosity and had an insatiable thirst for life. He left the impress of his genius on whatever genre of poetic art he experimented with. Judging from the multiplicity of his interests it appears as if he orbited through the entire range of human experience and emotions. He was at one and the same time a poet, a courtier, a soldier, a sufi, a musician and a lover. Very much as in the case of an Elizabethan gentleman, all these irreconcilables were fused together into the unity of his inner being.

His catholicity of temper is brought out in the many crisp and witty observations attributed to him as well as in his tactful handling of men. What is even more remarkable about him is the fact that he was a man of very ardent and passionate nature. The extraordinary warmth and exuberance of his soul flowed out in his strong Platonic love for Amir Najmuddin Hasan and his steadfast devotion to Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya. It was a relationship of rare fidelity and one which was illumined with an ecstasy of the highest order.

In this particular respect Amir Khusrau resembles the Urdu poet Meer Taqi Meer who had been enjoined by his father to make 'love' his guiding-star in life. The true mystic always burns with the longing to achieve union with the Infinite. One may only surmise that Amir Khusrau regarded these two—Amir Hasan and Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya—as the media through whom the ultimate union with the Divine could be facilitated. His deep and passionate attachment to them was a phenemenon of rare occurrence. The ecstasy of love and devotion which distinguished his relationship with both was the key for unlocking the baffling mysteries of inner experience. With them he shared the rapture of the mystic in his encounter with the Supernal Reality and the long-enduring

bouts of solitary contemplation With both of them again he believed in the supremacy and pervasiveness of love

Browsing his nearly two thousand Persian love lyrics one may be dismayed at first reading by their conventional tone and pattern These had been set by antiquity and seemed to be sacrosanct But repeated experience of these lyrics makes one realize that Amir Khusrau had made certain variations on the age-old theme of love and the agony and the rapture attending upon it Unlike the Urdu poet Bedil, Amir Khusrau lacks tortuousness and ingenuity Such subtleties, when pursued too far or too often, turn into blemishes of the worst kind and defeat the basic purpose of communication Amir Khusrau's Persian love lyrics have their own specific virtues which contribute enormously to their effectiveness as conveyors of feelings

As pointed out earlier, Amir Khusrau's personality was marked by a certain degree of abandon and ecstasy His lyrics show that he has the remarkable gift of merging himself with the object of his love and devotion He has nothing rigid or stubborn about him—nothing that makes him withhold himself or go only half-way to meet the desired. What we may term as a trance-like condition is evoked many a time in his love lyrics This condition emerges from the depths of his being and he is able to externalize it without any sense of strain Manifestly, it is born of a total self-identification The following couplets, chosen from a number of ghazals, indicate this particular aspect of his poetry

شبم خیال تو بس با قمر چه کار مرا   من و چو کوه شبے، با سحر چه کار مرا

For my night thy thought is enough!
What have I to do with the moon, my dear?
Here I am, and the long, long night is here—
What have I to do with the morn?

من آستان تو بوسم حدیث لب نکنم   چو من به خاک خوشم با شکر چه کار مرا

I kiss thy door-step; I do not follow
The tradition of lip-kissing.
Since I'm happy with this dust,
I must not care if sweets are missing

نه بینم آن لب خندان ز بیم جان که برو   ز دور سنگ خورم با گہر چه کار مرا

I do not look
At those laughing lips for fear of life

My fate is to be hit by stones
What have I to do with the pearls (of teeth) ?

سرآن قامت چون سرو روان خواهم گشت   خاک آن سلسلهٔ مشک فشان خواهم گشت

By her tall stature,
I'd turn into a cypress !
I'd turn into the dust
Of the musk-sheding pattern she is !

بندهٔ عشقم و آنان که درین غم مردند   تا زیم گرد سر تربتشان خواهم گشت

As a bondsman, upon Love I wait
In homage to those who died in love,
I want to circumambulate
Their graves as long as I'm alive !

من بدین دیده گهی سیر ترا خواهم دید   تا کی آخر بدرت دیده کشان خواهم گشت

I hope, sometime, to have sight
Of thee to the fill
How long
With my eyes at thy door
I have to be waiting and waiting

من از جور و جفای دلبران دیوانه خواهم شد   ز خویش و آشنا از دست دل بیگانه خواهم شد

Because of the cruel faithlessness
Of sweethearts, I'll go mad, and as regards my affections
I'll turn a stranger
To friends and relations !

چو دیدم خال و خط آن پری رو را بدل گفتم   گرفتار ار شوم در دام او زین دانه خواهم شد

When I saw the features
Of that fairy-like beloved, I said to myself
If I am captured in her trap,
It will be
Through such a bait
As this !

ملامت گو ز رسوائی مترسان هوشیاران را   که من بی پا و سر در کوی او مستانه خواهم شد

O you who reproach me,
Do not threaten sensible people (like me)
With disgrace
For in her street, I'm going to be
Like drunk and heedless of anything !

خرم آن روز که بینم آن رخ زیبائیم   او کند نازی و من از دور تماشائیم

I'm glad the day I see
Her lovely face
She charmingly minces
And I watch her from a distance

دل من گاه خرامیدن از دست برفت   هر کجا پا بنهد بر سر آن جائیم

Because of her gentle stroll,
My heart has gone out of control
The place she sets foot on—
That is the only place I see!

دل نه و صبر نه و هوش نه و طاقت نه   من در این صورت بیچاره چه یارائیم

I have no heart, no patience,
No sense, no strength
In such a condition,
How can I have sight
Of that beauteous Face!

Amir Khusrau's poetry, chiefly his lyrics, are uncomplicated by subtlety of thought or of linguistic structure His is a love, pure and simple, and he is capable of expressing its nuances without any attempt at elaboration or embellishment We do not find in his love lyrics any false note which almost always results from a failure in the process of communication When experience is bodied forth in its naked simplicity—as Amir Khusrau succeeds in doing—it helps him achieve a degree of spontaneity He does not tend to keep anything in reserve, he does not hide or suppress his feelings in the interest of a supercilious sense of propriety. He utters forth what he feels, he communicates what he must. This helps him achieve a catharsis of emotions, and also lightens the burden of feelings weighing heavily on him. Spontaniety in itself is not a prime virtue; but it does become a poetic asset when it produces a sense of adequacy of tone This occurs when there is not only an impression of the genuineness of feelings but also

that of the rightness of the way in which feelings have been expressed This is brought out in the following verses

من و شب، زندگانی من این است دل و غم شادمانی من این است

Me and the Night this sums up
The story of my life
My Heart and Sorrow this is all that can be said
As regards my happiness !

همه شب خون دل نوشم بیادش شراب ارغوانی من این است

All the night long as I think
Of her
I suffer in silence, I drink,
As it were,
My own heart's blood
Well, this would be
The red wine, if any red wine I would drink !

همی نالم بشب ساری هجر سرود میهمانی من این است

I turn the wakefulness of the night
Of separation into crying
If I entertain myself with any music
My music in this

بعشقش گاه میرم گه زیم باز طریق زندگانی من این است

In her love, I sometimes die,
Sometimes I live again , this is
My way of life !

بیا نظاره کن ای دل که یارم می آید بسر بردن جان فگارم می آید

Come and look
My heart
My beloved comes
She comes to take
This sore life of mine !

نگارم مرکب ناز او سوار و در عشقش هزار سینه بے قراری آید

She rides a horse, and behind her
Thousands of enamoured,
Restless
Lovers come

چه گردها که برآورده ماست از دلها   که فرق تا به قدم سر غباری می‌آید

What dust has been purged out of their hearts
That from head to foot
Covered with dust
These lovers come !

من کشتهٔ روی یار خویشم   درماندهٔ روزگار خویشم

I am killed with the fair Face
Of my Beloved !
In this life I have been made
Helpless !

زین غم که به کس نمی‌توان گفت   شبهاست که غمگسار خویشم

Because of the woe that I could not tell of
To any one,
There are nights and nights
When I am woe-begone

یاران چو قرار و صبر جویند   از من که نه برقرار خویشم

Friends seek for rest and patience
In me, but I have no rest and patience
In myself !

Some of the ghazals are marked by repeated queries This obviously both creates and reflects a sense of bewilderment and surprise. One also gets the impression of some kind of naivety which again is born of an attitude of innocence The poet as lover is intrigued and fascinated, he is also at his wits' end as to what he should make of the beloved's indifference or arrogance or his pose of self-detachment On his part there is hardly any attempt at condemnation or reproof At the most there is a gesture of impatience but that never leads to recrimination. The lover feels that he has never provided any excuse to justify the beloved's attitude. In other words, he has not in any way deserved the contempt or harshness that has been poured on him. He has, on the contrary, been all humility and submission. There has been no show of self-assertion on his part, for that runs counter to the traditional attitude of the lover in Oriental love poetry

This attitude was also characteristic of the lover in the poetry of the French troubadours All this underwent a change when the then existing conventions were replaced by an alternative set of values under the strain and stress of the social structure But in the Oriental love-poetry by and large, including that of Amir Khusrau, no reversal of the prevalent trend was necessitated What has been designated as a series of queries in some of the ghazals has no far-reaching philosophical implications It is only a poetic mode of expression aimed at understanding a particular aspect of love relationship The following couplets may be cited as a case in point

یارب اندر دل چاک آن گل خندان چونست ماه تابان من اندر شب هجران چونست؟

O God, how goes inside the rent heart
Of that laughing Rose !
How goes with my bright Moon
In the night of separation !

من چو یعقوب ز گریه شده‌ام دیده سفید آخر آن یوسف گم‌گشته به زندان چونست؟

Like Jacob, I'm blinded with crying·
Will no one tell me
How my lost Joseph
In prison is ?

من درین خاک به زندان غم از دوری او او رسن دور به صحرا و بیابان چونست؟

Separated from her
In the prison of sorrow
Here I lie in the dust
Away from me
In the wilderness
There
How is she

گوهری بود که از دیده من غلطید به خاک دیده خود خاک شد آن گوهر غلطان چونست؟

It was a pearl that dropped from my eye
To roll in the dust !
How about that rolling pearl
In case of which :
The eye itself
Had turned into dust !

مہش گویم ولیکن مہ سخن گفتن نمی داند   گلش گویم ولیکن گل گہر سفتن نمی داند

I call her moon, but my Moon
Does not speak to me !
I call her rose, but for me
My Rose has
No pearly smile !

ز شب بیداری من تا سحر چشمش کجا داند   که او شب تا سحر کارے بجز خفتن نمی داند

How can her eyes reflect any sympathy
With my night-long wakefulness ?
For she herself knows of nothing
In the night, except sleeping

اگر گویم که حال من کسے آنجا نمی گوید   صبا دانم که می داند ولے گفتن نمی داند

Shall I say, no one
Tells of my condition
To her there ? Well,
I know the breeze knows it, but
It does not know
How to tell !

دل ما باز سوئے آں بت بدخو چرا می رود   ایں خوں گرفته باز دراں کوچه می رود

Why does my heart again go after
That cruel-natured beloved ?
Why does this bleeding heart
Go out again into her street ?

گلگشت باغ می کند امروز سرو من   بنگر که باز رنگ گل خوشبو چه می رود

My cypress-tall beloved
Takes walk in the garden—
Look out for what may happen
To the fragrant rose !

جان جہانے از رخ او کشته شد ہنوز   دیوانه خلق دیدن آں رو چرا می رود

The whole world has been stricken
With her Face Now, to see
Her Face
Why should all the people go mad ?

سرسبز شد لبش اگر آب حیات نیست　　　این خضر باز بر لب آن جو چه می رود

His lips were delightfully refreshed, even if
The Water of Life was not there
Why should our Khizr again go
To the bank of that stream ?

Amir Khusrau is enchanted by the beauty of the physical world around him though he is merely contented with highlighting it with the magic of his verbal art He gives the impression of responding to it with all the wealth of sensuous details It is not a matter of following a particular convention and thus evoking the beauty of Nature in a perfunctory way He rather tries to communicate his full responsiveness to the plenitude of the physical world in a fresh and original way More often than not he also endeavours to project human reactions in terms of a reference to the physical world. The portrayal of human feelings and emotions thus gains in depth and significance Not only does it become articulate and intelligible but it also becomes more attractive Following are some of the instances of this process of distancing which is aesthetically satisfying

گل امشب آخر شب مست برخاست　　　بجام لاله گون مجلس بیاراست

Tonight, the rose-like beloved of mine
(Has been with me all the night and)
Has risen intoxicated at the end of the night only ·
So let us set
The cups of tulip-red wine
To grace our assembly

نشسته سبزه زین سو پای دربند　　　ستاده سرو از آن سو جانب راست

To verdure lies on this
Side, on the other, towards the right
Stands
The cypress.

صبا می رفت و نرگس از غنودن　　　بهر سو سر همی افتاد و می خاست

The breeze went by
(And the eye of) the narcissus
Being drowsy

Drooped down and popped up
In every direction
(To see) !

من اندر باغ بودم خفته تا یار   سراسر چو ماہی بے کم و کاست

I was asleep in the garden
Till the beloved glided towards me like a fish.
And I became restless
Absolutely.

گل نو رسید و بوئے ز بہارم نیامد   چه کنم نسیم گل را که ز یارم نیامد

The rose has bloomed freshly but the fragrance
Of my Spring
Is missing
What can I do about the breeze
If it does not come from my beloved.

دلم چرا چو غنچه نشود دریده صد جا   که صبا رسید و بوئے ز نگارم نیامد

Why does not my heart, like a rose-bud,
Rend in a hundred places ?
The breeze has come, but the fragrance
Of my beloved
Has not come !

اگر اے حریف داری نظرے بروے یارے   تو بہار خویش خوش شو که بہارم نیامد

My rival, if thou hast the sight
Of the sweetheart,
Take joy in thy spring .
For my spring
Has not come to me !

همه عمر تشنه بودم به سر آب حیوان   بجز آب شور دیده به کنارم نیامد

All my life I have been thirsty
For the Water of Life . but Except
The salt water of my eyes,
No water could I have !

چمن ز سبزه خطے بر رخ جمیل کشید   به باغ سرو روان قامت طویل کشید

The lawn with its verdure
Marked the dawn on the beautiful Face;
In the garden, the cypress measured

The tall stature
Of the Beloved

به رنگ و بوی بیاراست گلستان خود را به گوشه های گلستان بنفشه سبز کنید

Deck thy garden with fragrance and colour;
In the corner of the garden.
Set
Blue pansies

بهار در ره آیندگان باغ نگر که دور دیده نرگس به حد میل کنند

Watch the spring in the way
Of the would-be visitors to the garden.
Since for many miles the (waiting) eyes
Of the narcissus flowers
Lie on the garden ground

سرود گویان بلبل به جام لاله شتافت گهی خفیف گرفت و گهی ثقیل کنند

The singing nightingales
Rushed to the cups of the tulip flowers
Sometimes they sang lightly, sometimes heavily

Amir Khusrau has not only the knack of compressing the initial experience within the limited compass of the lyric but also of giving the impression of artlessness Some of his ghazals seem to conform strictly to the definition of this particular genre as something direct and simple and characterised by single, though intense, emotions They are neither intricate nor embody experience of a many-faceted character Their effectiveness as literary artifacts lies in their verbal texture, their elegance and rhythmical harmony The narrowness of range which is a necessary corollary does not in any way inhibit the evocativeness of such a lyric On the contrary, it is easily apprehended in a single sweep of receptivity It thus sticks in one's memory and becomes a permanent possession:

خطی که قرین خال باشد بی‌شک خطی که بی‌مثال باشد

The line that came
Near the delineation of her Features
Would undoubtedly be,
A line unparalleled!

سروے کہ بقامت تو باشد   درخاست اعتدال باشد

The cypress that resembles
Thy tall stature
Has just the right stature for anything

آں دم کہ تو شرح حال گوئی   دانی کہ مرا چہ حال باشد

When thou tellest me
Of thy condition, dost those know
What my condition might be ?

ہرگز بہ کسم خیال خوابے   تا در سرم آں خیال باشد

I'll never have the thought
Of going to bed,
Unless her thought
Is in my head!

جانا جو توئی دگر نیاید   مردم بہ تو خوب تر نیاید

Thou art my only Beloved. another one
Will never come to take Thy place
For never, never will there be
A person more beautiful than Thee!

ہم رنگ رخت سمن نگردد   ہم تنگ لب شکر نیاید

The jasmine cannot have
The colour
Of thy face,
Near the taste of thy lips
Sugar
Cannot come

روزے کہ تو برنہ خیزی از خواب   خورشید بلند بر نیاید

The day thou dost not rise
From sleep—
On that day
The Sun does not rise!

تا خاک درت رواست ما را   گر سرمہ بچشم در نیاید

The dust of thy doorstep
Is just the right things to apply
If *Surma* does not show
Its beauty in the eye!

گل رنگ نگار ما نہ دارد   بوئے تو چوں یار ما نہ دارد

The rose does not have the colour
Of my beloved;
It does not have the sweet smell
That my beloved has.

مائیم و دیار بے نشانی   کس میل دیار ما نہ دارد

Here we are, and we are
In an obscure country:
In our country,
Nobody likes to be!

با من سخن سمن مگوئید   کو بوئے بہار ما نہ دارد

Do not talk to me
Of the jasmine it does not have
The fragrance
Of my spring!

با من صفت چمن مخوانید   کاو نقش نگار ما نہ دارد

Do not speak praises
Of the garden-lawn to me:
It does not have the patterns
Of my beloved's beauty!

ہر کرا خال عنبریں باشد   گر کند ناز نازنیں باشد

Anybody who has an amber-coloured mole—
If she minces too:
She becomes
A sweetheart

روئے تو خرمن گلست ازاں   خرمن ماہ خوشہ چیں باشد

Thy Face is a harvest
Of roses: for this reason
The halo of the moon
Is the gleaner!

در سماعے کہ عشق یاراں را   بزم پر آہ آتشیں باشد

It is heard
That a lover's assembly
Is full
Of sighs fiery!

پیش رخسارۂ منوّر تو   روے خورسید برزمیں باسد

Before thy bright Face,
The face of the Sun himself
Would lie low in the dust!

بردست رسے بہ یار دارم   بہ طاقت اصطبار دارم

I cannot reach my hands
To my beloved
Nor have I the patience
To wait

ہرجور کہ از تو برمن آید   از گردش روزگار دارم

Every torment
That comes to me from you
Comes
From the vicissitudes of times

این خستہ دل چو موئے باریک   از زلف تو یادگار دارم

This sore heart, frail
Like a flimsy hair,
I bear
In the memory
Of thy lock of hair!

من کز غم تو کشیدہ باشم   اندوہ زمانہ خار دارم

Since I have suffered
The sorrows of thy love,
The sorrows of the world are
Like thorns to me!

Several of these ghazals stand out as wholly exquisite pieces of art They seem to offer a perfect fusion between the experience communicated and the syntactical pattern provided for it They bear upon them the impress of Amir Khusrau's personality—sensitive, emotionally high-stung and deeply absorbed in itself It has also a certain degree of tenderness and elegance about it Mellowness is what really sums up the dominant trait of his personality

Amir Khusrau's output is indeed enormous and there may be a few lyrics interspersed here and there which do not seem to vibrate with genuine feeling and thus create the impression of

being pretty dull and insipid But by and large they seem to spring out of a fulness of heart and he makes no attempt to achieve consciously poetic effects He sings, as the birds do, that is, under the compulsion of an inner urge Nothing is forced, pretentious or false, but everything seems to be in its right place Amir Khusrau offers contrast to poets lie Urfi or Bedil, he reminds us rather of Hafiz, Naziri and Sa'di His ghazals are pure gems of feeling, unalloyed with anything that might contaminate their purity, and they have a lilt and a music in them which is most persuasive It would only be fair to conclude this account of Amir Khusrau's achievement by quoting a few fragments from some of his outstandingly evocative ghazals

دلم در عاشقی آواره شد آواره‌تر بادا   تنم از بیدلی بیچاره شد بیچاره‌تر بادا
رخت تازه است بهر مردن خود تازه‌تر خواهم   دلت خاره است و بهر کشتنم خاره‌تر بادا
گر ای زاهد دعای خیر می‌گوئی مرا این گو   که آن آوارهٔ کوی بتان آواره‌تر بادا
چو با تردامنی خو کرده خسرو با دو چشم تر   به آب چشم پاکان دامنش همواره تر بادا

Let my heart which is a wanderer
In love be a greater wanderer·
Let my body which is wretched sore
Because of this heart of mine
Be wretched sore all the more!

Thy face has a novel beauty—
More novel I would like to be
For my death! Thy heart is flinty—
Let it be all the more flinty for killing me!

Devout puritan, if to wish me well
Is thy will
Wish that I who am a wanderer in the ways of Love
Be a greater wanderer still.

Since Khusrau is used to keeping
His dress-border wet with weeping.
With the holy water of tears, let
His dress-border be always wet

سرے دارم کہ ساماں نیست اورا — بدل دردے کہ درماں نیست اورا
براہ انتظارم ہست چشمے — کہ خوابے ہم پریشاں نیست اورا
ازاں گرد عمرم روز را رہ آنکہ — شبے دارم کہ پایاں نیست اورا
خط نوخیز و لب سادہ از آں بس — خوش آں مضموں کہ عنواں نیست اورا

I have a head for which there isn't
Any house. I have a heartache
For which
There is
No remedy

Eyes are there that keep
Waiting for me.
Without having
Even a vexed sleep!

I have made the day wait upon me
Because
I have a night which is
Never-ending!

The innocent early
Dawn on the cheeks; the chastely
Simple lips—
(How to define this beauty!
I should think)
This is a matter
That goes better
Without a title!

خرم آں لحظہ کہ مشتاق بیارے برسد — آرزومند نگاری بہ نگارے برسد
گرچہ در دیدہ کشد ہیچ غبارش نبود — ہر کجا از قدم دوست غبارے برسد
لذت وصل نداند مگر آں سوختہ اے — کہ پس از دوری بسیار بیارے برسد
قیمت گل نشناسد مگر آں مرغ اسیر — کہ خزاں دیدہ بود پس بہ بہارے برسد

Happy is the moment when
The eager lover
Meets the Beloved when
The one who desires
Meets
The Desired One

The dust in the eye no dust
For the eye can be
Should it come from
The feet
Of the Loved One

The bliss of Union
Only that lover knows
Who reaches the Loved One
From a distance tremendous

The worth of the Rose
Nobody knows
Except the Caged Bird
Having suffered the Fall
Is visited by the Spring

قمر برید رسی مهروش خراب قمر   ستم رسان رخ مه سیم تاب قمر
خرابه ها همه چون از قمر شود روشن   چراست تیره دل من چو شد خراب قمر
تمام شب به در آسمان نمی خسپید   که چشم ابر قمر ما نیست خواب قمر
کجا رسد مه گردون بدین قمر یارے   که نیست حسن خورشید تر از تاب قمر
کنون دمیدن صبح از رخ قمر باشد   چو آفتاب نهان شد ز ماهتاب قمر

All the desolate places are
By the Moon lit up
Why is my heart
Desolate
By the Moon

Let the morning break now
Because of the Moon
Since the Sun has hidden himself
Because of
The Moon's
Splendour

خرم آں روزے کہ من با دوست کارے داشتم — با وصالِ او بہ شادی روزگارے داشتم

داشتم ما ئے ازیں اندیشہ کامد جاں بروں — برزباں راند نہ می آرم کہ یارے داشتم

تن چو گل صد پارہ شد از بس کہ غلطیدم بخاک — از فسوں آں کہ خرم نو بہارے داشتم

خوش نیاید کآیم از خانہ بروں کایں خانہ را — دوست می دارم کہ در وے دوستارے داشتم

نیست رنجے گر تن از غم مو شد و رنج ست و بس — کاں ز تارِ موئے خوباں یادگارے داشتم

Happy is the day when I was
In my Beloved's company
That time was a time
Of happiness when we were together

My body was torn
In a hundred places
Flower-like
I rolled in the dust
Because of the enchantment that Spring had come to me.

I don't like to leave
This Place
I like to be here because
Here
I had a Friend
Once.

Amir Khusrau's Hindi Poetry

PRABHAKAR MACHWE

While I tried to cull material for this paper from various sources, I was surprised by the mis-statements and misunderstandings perpetrated by literary critics and historians on Amir Khusrau's Hindi writings. I will give a few examples:

Dr. Ram Babu Saksena in his *A History of Urdu Literature* writes about 'Khusru, the earliest Urdu poet'—

> "He was the first to write a verse in Urdu. He wrote the first Urdu ghazal but it was a hybrid composition, one hemistich being Persian and the other Urdu. The metre was, however, Persian. He is the inventor of many riddles, rhymes, enigmas and punning verses, which are still popular. These verses though they employ Hindi words are scanned according to Sanskrit prosody and can scarcely be regarded as Urdu verses though Persian words are found here and there." (p. 10; first edition 1927; second 1940).

Dr. Sadiq-ur-Rahman Kidwai in his thesis *Gilchrist and the Language of Hindoostan* says on p. 79:

> "Before Gilchrist, there was an absolute lack of any material which could be used by the beginners of Urdu. When Gilchrist had started learning the language and was in search of such books, he was shocked at the apathy of the people towards their own tongue.
>
> "My coadjutors at last produced a Tom Thumb performance, called from its ritual word, the *Khaliq Baree*, which they dignified with the title of vocabulary, though on inspection I discovered only the shrivelled summary of an old meagre school glossary, handed down since the time of Khoosro the poet about the year 1300, and like the *Tohfutool-Hind*, explanatory of the ancient Hinduwee alone." (Gilchrist, Appendix pp. vi-viii).

But the same Khusrau was held by Ghalib as the best Indian poet of Persian. On Hali's testimony—"But except for Amir

Khusrau Ghalib did not hold any Indian poet of Persian in esteem In one of his letters he writes, "Among the Indians, except for Khusrau of Delhi there is no established master Faizi's poetry is all right in parts " ."On one occasion when the court was assembled the conversation turned on the close relations that had existed between Nizamuddin and Amir Khusrau Ghalib at once composed and recited the following verse·

Two holy guides, two suppliants. In this
God's power we see
Nizamuddin had Khusrau Sirajuddin has me "

On July 7, 1865 Ghalib wrote in a letter to 'Bekhabar'—"I have written a ghazal in the same metre and rhyme as one of Khusrau's "

Syed Abdul Wahid praises Khusrau in his work on Iqbal (Lahore, 1944) "The lyrical poetry in Urdu and Persian may comprise ghazals, qasidas and qit'as But the truly lyrical poetry in Urdu and Persian consists of a special type of ghazal and described as the *ghazal-i-musalsal* This is really a ghazal, which possesses unity of theme Sa'di was the first great poet in Persian to try his hand on it Khusrau, one of the greatest Persian poets born in India, excelled in writing *ghazal-i-musalsal*" (p 186-187).

Turning to Hindi sources I found many contradictory statements. The late Dr Ram Dhari Singh 'Dinkar', a nationalist poet of Hindi, paid his tribute to Khusrau in one of his essays *Hindi Sahitya men Nigam-dhara* in his *Sahityamukhi* (Udayachal, Patna, 1968)—"It is worth remembering that this stream of unity was not only from Hindus, but Muslim poets and saints contributed, without any prejudice, to it Amir Khusro is considered the father of both Khari Boli Hindi and Urdu In reality he was the pioneer in this movement of unity In his Persian masnavi *Nuh-Sipihr* he calls India as his land of birth and praises her Quoting the Prophet, Khusro said that the love of one's country is a part of his love of religion Prithviraj was defeated in 1192 A D. Amir Khusro was born in 1253 A.D. It means only after 61 years of the establishment of Islamic rule in India was born that Musalman in India, who was the first great Nationalist Muslim " (p. 151)

Even a Pakistani literary critic, Prof Abulais Siddiqi of Karachi University opined, "I would also like to clarify the misunderstanding about treating Urdu as an Islamic language It is true that Urdu, after Arabic and Persian, contains a more comprehensive and vast Islamic literature than many other languages spoken by Muslims all over the world, yet in its nature and development, it is definitely indigenous in character It was unfortunate that the problem of language got mixed up with political issues, which has done more harm than good to the cause of Urdu" (p 204, *Literary History and Literary Criticism*, Act of the Ninth Congress of the International Federation for Modern Languages and Literature, New York University Press, 1965)

But standard Hindi reference works on literature have many contradictory statements, for example ·

(1) In the *Hindi Sahitya Ka Brihat Itihas*, Volume IV published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi and edited by Pandit Parashuram Chaturvedi the following statements are made by different authors

(a) On page 44—"Some famous saints of this sect of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti are given below Amir Khusro was one of them"

(b) On page 74-75—"He created synthesis of Iranian and Indian music styles and invented 'Sitar'"

(c) On page 84—"Amir Khusro enriched Persian literature by composing many Sufi books of poetry He gave special attention to referring to things Indian which other Indian Persian poets did not do"

(d) In the footnote on page 85—"Amir Khusro refers to three 'diwans' in Arabic, Persian and Hindvi by one Masud, whose full name was Masud Sad Salman"

(e) On page 92—"Sufi poets in Dakhni did not follow Persian poets like Amir Khusro".

(f) On page 298—"Amongst the Persian poets Amir Khusro needs special mention (651-726 A H.) (1253-1325 A D) It is difficult to say how far Hindi Sufi poets received inspiration from Amir Khusro It is doubtful if Hindi Sufi poets have been influenced by Amir Khusro Khusro takes his ideas, language,

images—everything from Persian literature and its traditions The atmosphere of Hindi Sufi literature is entirely different from Khusro's literature "

(g) On page 299—"In *Nuh Sipihr* there are nine centres like nine skies In each canto a new metre is used In this work Khusro praises India very enthusiastically" Giving the same quotation which 'Dinkar' has given above, this note continues, "He has described in details the flowers, the fruits, plants, weather, wisdom and scientific knowledge of India and tries to understand Hindu customs and ways of living "

(h) On page 321—"Amir Khusro was with Alauddin in the battle of Chittor, but he has nowhere mentioned Padmini, nor has referred that the battle was because of her" (Khusro's *Tarikh-i-Allai*)

(i) On page 358—"About Khusro's Hindi works, it is surmised that they were probably written by another Khusro, who may be in Shahjahan's times"

In the *Hindi Sahitya Kosh,* Part II, published by Bharatiya Hindi Parishad, Allahabad, on page 119 there is a note on Amir Khusro by Matabadal Jaiswal which says among other things—"He was born in 1254 A D in Lachan Caste of Turks His father died when he was seven He returned to Delhi after getting Sultan Muhammad's (Balban's eldest son's) invitation He went on war front with this Sultan who died, Khusro was taken as a war prisoner He has written a 'marsiya' on this He saw three Afghan dynasties of Ghulam, Khalji and Tughlaqs and the rise and fall of eleven Sultans '

In the *Hindi Vishwa Kosh* (Hindi Encyclopaedia) Part I, published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha in 1960, on p 199, Amir Khusro's year of birth is given to be 1253 A D , and it is said that his father died when he was ten year old "In 1324 he went with Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq on an invasion of Bengal" It also mentions that "he wrote a diwan in Hindi. Unfortunately no standard authentic collection of Amir Khusro's poetry is available in Hindi."

I have deliberately kept the different spellings of his name and varying facts given in various books If the so-called reference books themselves are so vague and varied in their guidance, what can be said of ordinary books In the entry in

this Encyclopaedia in Hindi, a list of seven books is given as bibliographical base including Barni's *Tarikh-Feruzshahi Mirkhurd,* Shibli's *Syasul-auliya,* Syed Ahmed Mehrawardi's *Hayati Khusrau* (Lahore, 1909), M Habib's *Hazrat Amir Khusro of Delhi* (Bombay, 1927) and Wahid Mirza's *Life and Times of Amir Khusru* (Calcutta, 1935)

Khusrau's Hindi poetry is divided in several sections The first is 'Riddles' or *Paheliyan* Some examples which could be translated are given below Invariably each of the riddle contains in the form of pun or double meaning, its solution also I give below the Romanized version of the original with a rough English translation, in the bracket at the end of each is the solution of the riddle

His favourite subject is lamp or *Diya Paheli*

Bala tha jab sab ko bhaya
Barha hua Kachhu Kam na aya
Khusrau Kah diya iska naon
Arth Karo ya chhodo gaon

(*Diya*)

When young was liked by all
When grown up was of use to none
Khusrau says his name lightly
Find out the meaning or leave the town

(Lamp)

Jab kato tab hi barhe, bin kate kumhilay
Aisi adbhut nar ka ant na payo jay

(*Dipshikha*)

When you cut it, it shines, if you do not
cut it it smolders
Of such a wonderful woman one cannot find
the end

(Wick of a lamp)

Mukariyan

Sari rain more sang jaga
Bhor bhaye tab bichhuran laga
Wake bichhurat phate hiya
Ai sakhi sajan na sakhi diya

The whole night he woke with me
When it was morning he bid adieu
With his departure the heart is broken
O maiden! was it your lover
no it was the lamp

Paheli

Ek Raja Ki anokhi Rani
Neeche se vah peeve pani

(*Diya ki batti*)

A king had a strange queen
She drank water from below

(Wick of a lamp)

His other favourite subject was 'A mirror' There are many riddles and double meaningful utterances about it

(1) *Farasi boli ai na*
Turki dhundi pai na
Hindi boli arsi aye
Khusro kahe koi na bataye

(*Arsi*)

Did not know any Persian (In Persian it is called Aaina)
In Turkish I searched but did not find
In Hindi tongue one feels peculiar
Khusrau says, none can tell

(Mirror)

Some songs, of which only rough translations are possible:

Asthai

Sagan bin phool rahi sarson—Ambva phoote,
tesu phoole, koel bole daar daar, aur gori
karat singar—malania gudva le aayi karson

(It is spring Mustard blossoming Mangoes flowering, *palash* blooming Cuckoo singing on every branch The fair damsel decorating herself Gardner-woman brought bouquets.)

Antra

Tarah Tarah ke phool lagaaye, le gudva hathan
men aaye—Nijamuddin ke darvajje par, aavan
kah gaye aashaq rang aur beet gaye barson

(Different kinds of flowers were planted. Now bouquets are in hand At Nijamuddin's door, the tryst was promised but years rolled away)

Khaliqebari

1 *Ze haale miskeen makun taghaful, darae mainan banaye batiyan*
ke taabe hijraan na daaram eh dil, na lehu kahe lagayye chatiyan

(It is in mixed Persian and Braj bhasha)

2 *Khaliq Baari sarjan haar—Wahid ek bada kartaar —Rasool paighambar jaan baseeth—yaar dost boli jaeeth—Khaliq ek Khuda ka naon—garmi hai dhoop, saaya hai chaon.*

RANG

Asthai

Aaj rang hai—eh maan rang hai—
morey mehboob ke ghar rang hai—
sajan mila vara—sajan mila vara—
morey ghar aaj rang hai—aaj rang hai
(Today is the Festival of Colours Colour at my lover's home Let me meet the lover .)

Antra

Mohe peer paiyo Nijamuddin Aulia—
Nijamuddin Aulia—Nijamuddin Aulia—
eh maan rang hai—Nijamuddin Aulia
jag ujiyara—jag ujiyara voh to jag
ujiyara—eh maan rang hai—aaj
rang hai—maan rang hai

(O Nizamuddin Auliya, please be kind to me The whole world has brightened Colour in all directions today is the day of Colours)

QAUL·

1 *Man kunto maulah—Fa'aliu maulah—*
Dratil dratil dar daani—ham tome ta
na na na-ta na na na re-yalali yalaii yala
yaala re-mankunto maulah—
(It is more onomatopoeic)

Asthai·

2 *Hayya ya dir tala laye—Hasan-o-*
Nijamuddin Aulia—dem dem dir dir
dir tane taan tale ta—nana nana nana

Antra·

Fa'aenama tavallau fa'samma vajhullah
dir tum dir tum tome tome taan na na
na dir de tale tale dra janam deem deem
dir dir dir tale taan tale na na na

DOHA

1 *Gori soey sej par, mukh par daro kes*
Chal Khusro ghar aapne, rain bhaee chaon desh

(The fair woman sleeps on the bed, with hair covering her face O Khusrau go to your home It is night all over)

2 *Khusro rain suhag ki, jaagi pi ke sang*
tan mera, man piu ka, do bhaey ek rang.

(On the first night of meeting, I woke whole night
My body, the mind of the lover, the two in one colour)

3 *Sajan sakare jaaenge, nain marenge roey*
badhya aisi rain kar, bhor kadi na hoey

(Lover is going away in the morning, eyes will die weeping
O, make the night so long that there be no morn)

DO SUKHANE (Linguistic puns, untranslatable)

1.	*Brahman pyasa kyon?*	*Gadha udasa kyon?*	=*Lota na tha*
2.	*Gosht kyon na khaya?*	*Dome kyon na gaya?*	=*Gala na tha*
3	*Joota kyon na pahena?*	*Samosa kyon na khaya?*	=*Tala na tha*
4	*Annar kyon na chakha?*	*Vazir kyon na rakha?*	=*Daana na tha*
5	*Paan sada kyon?*	*Ghoda ada kyon?*	=*Phera na tha*

CHEESTAN.

1 *Sab koi usko jane hai—par ek nahin pehchane hai—aath dhadi man likkha hai—fikr hai ke undekha hai*—(Answer. Allah—God)

2 *Us naari ka ek hi nar—basti bahar va ka ghar—peeth sakht aur peth narm—munh meetha taseer garm*—(Answer watermelon)

DHAKOSLA·

Bhadon ki paki phali, chaun chaun paid kapas
bi mehtrani daal pakaogi, ya manga so rahoon

CHUTKULE

1 A medicine for eyes
Lavadh phitkari, murda sankh—haldi,
zeera, ek ek tang—afune chana bhar,
mirchen chaar—urad barabar thotha daar

2 A medicine for teeth
Tirkata tirphala teenon noan patang
daant bajar hojaat hain, maanjho phal ke sang

TUK BANDI (Absurd verses)
Kheer pakaai jatan se, Charkha diya jala,
Kutta aaya kha gaya, tu baithi dhol baja
la paani pila

Examples of his contribution to music

GEET

(1) *Bahot kathin hai dagar panghat ki*
kaise main bhar laoon madhva se matki
morey achchey Nijam piya—kaise main bhar
laoon madhva se matki—Jara bolo Nijam
piya—paniya bharan ko main jo gayee thi
daur jhapat mori matki patki—bahot kathin hai
Khusrau Nijam ke bal bal jaaiye—laaj rakho
morey ghunghat pat ki

(2) *Amma mere baba ko bhejoji—ke sawan aaya,*
Beti tera baba to buddhari—ke sawan aaya,
Amma mere bhaiya ko bhejoji—-ke sawan aaya,
Beti tera bhaiya to baalari—ke sawan aaya,
Amma mere mamoon ko bhejoji—ke sawan aaya,
Beti tera mamoon to baankari—ke sawan aaya.

(3) *Kahe ko biyahi bides re—lakhi babul morey.*
Bhaiyon ko dino mahal do mahle, ham ko diya
pardes re—lakhi babul morey

Ham torey babul bele ki kaliyan, ghar ghar
maangi jaaye re—lakhi babul morey

Doli ka parda utha kar jo dekha, aaya paraya des re
lakhi babul morey.

Amir Khusro yun kahen tera dhan dhan bhag suhag re
lakhi babul morey

In short, Khusrau contributed to poetry in peoples' language. This was the tradition which made it possible in Urdu for Nazir, Hali, Akbar or Firaq to write in a simple, colloquial language. Wordsworth maintained that the language of poetry should be as near to prose as possible. Khusrau gave to Hindi its first Khari Boli compositions. It was his tradition which was followed by Rahim or Girdhar or all the poets in Khari Boli in 19th and 20th century upto Maithilisharan Gupta and Bachchan. Had he not been there we could not have seen Balkrishna Sharma 'Nain' or 'Suman' mixing modern Hindi with words from dialects and from what Rambilas Sharma called *Bhades* (rustic) language.

An Accomplished Critic

(A study based on the Dibacha-i-Ghurratu'l-Kamal)

NAZIR AHMAD

Amir Khusrau's preface to his third diwan called *Ghurratu'l-Kamal* is an exposition of his accomplishments as a critic of Persian poetry. He has expressed his view about poetry in general as well as his own poetic excellence along with various allied matters. The poet starts with the thesis that speech (سخن) is the distinguishing feature of human being. This lengthy discussion covering eight pages of the preface is similar to that available in any book of ethical philosophy. This is followed by Khusrau's admiration of poetry and the high place it occupies in the realm of literature and science. This is an useful discussion which shows the critical abilities of a man who was himself a poet and writer of the highest order. And perhaps it is the earliest example of literary criticism available in Persian literature, and I shall make an attempt to examine his views in a critical manner.

Khusrau observes that speech which occupies such a lofty position and which is the most distinctive feature of human being, may be both in prose and poetry. But prose is very common and hackneyed while poetry is lofty and sublime. Poetry is superior to prose in the same manner as human beings are superior to animals. Though prose possesses some good qualities such as pleasant words and excellence, it does not possess that sweetness agreeable to each heart and tongue. Often prose is intermixed with poetry which adorns the former as does a gem in a ring of gold. But the same is not true to prose because poetry is never embellished by intermixing prose. The difference between prose and poetry is in the same proportion as a jewel strung in a thread and that with a broken thread. So long as jewel is strung it is an adornment for the ear, neck and head of a bride as well as for the crown of a king but as soon as its string is torn asunder, it is thrown in dust and is liable to be trampled down under the feet of the passers-by. This is why poetry is called "موزون" (balanced)

and prose "ناموزوں" (unbalanced), likewise the former is termed as صحیح (correct) and the latter as رکیک (shallow) Poetry when broken becomes prose but the vice-versa is not correct

"Poetry is a gold weighed in the scale of wisdom and a treasure put in the corner of each line (بیت), it is a lofty edifice so well adjusted and balanced that if a letter is added to its pillars (parts) it may fall down How excellent are the divers of the seas of poetry who having dugged the earth of nature have constructed such a swift flowing and shining canal as will remain full of water till eternity' "The cloud cannot boast of its pearls before the gem of poetry, the sun cannot take pride in its full moon in the face of the brilliance of poetry"

"Poetry is a heart-solacer of lovers (صاحب دل), intimate friend of divine-seekers, consolation of the heart of truth seekers, an ingot for the coin of scholars, comfort-giver to the heart of grief strikers, the soul-reviver of externees, the exhilator of the mind of the sorrowful, and the knot-looser from the forehead of all and sundry"

"What is prose ?—Talked about by each lip and tongue, produced by the mouths of ordinary and extraordinary men—a book pages dispersed, an account not to be adjustable, a horse having no speed, a rein broken dromedary, in the laws of binding together its action is confused, and in the scale of holding fast together its discourse is unbalanced So long as it does not enlist the support of poetry it has no attraction and so far as it is not intermixed with poetry (poem) it produces no effect The bride of prose devoid of poetic adornment is likely to lose its charm"

One of the points in favour of poetry is that it enhances the charm of music, in so much as melody without poetry has little attraction

Amir Khusrau continues his argument pleading the case of poetry by comparing it with knowledge (علم) He claims that poetry based on knowledge has more charm But knowledge itself is not so popular as poetry and a scholar is less known than a poet This is why people who have nothing to do with scholarship are attracted by poetry Although it may not be always correct to prefer poetry to knowledge and scholarship, yet the former is certainly preferable in regard to popularity. We have

a good number of poets who were scholars but their scholarship is subordinated, though they themselves assigned lower status to poetry Of this class Khusrau quotes four Persian poets, two ancient, two modern viz , Raziud-din Nishapuri [1] and Zahirud-din Faryabi [2] (ancient), Shihabud-din Mahmara [3] and Bahaud-din Bukhari [4] (modern)

Then the poet quotes a qita in which he tries to plead the cause of poetry forcefully He says knowledge obtained by repetition is like a large vessel of water which would be empty if ten buckets are drawn out of it But the temperament of a poet is like a flowing stream whose flow becomes swifter if hundred buckets are drawn out To Khusrau a real poet is better than a cross tempered scholar A few lines are

آنکه نام شعر عالم می‌شود بر نام علم   بحث عقلی در این می‌گویم، از برهان بود
هرچه تکرارش کنی، مردم بود استاد آن   آنچه تصنیفی است استاد از دبستان بود
علم کز تکرار حاصل شد چو آبی در خم است   کز وی از ده دلو بر بالا کشی نقصان بود
لیک طبع مستی آن چشمه را ماند که رود   گر کشی صد دلو سر زو آب صد چندان بود
پس درین صورت بلی شاعر که نظم خاص اوست   به ز کتر طبعی که یادش علم بی پایان بود
چیست زان تو بسیار ارنی صدای بیهده است   چون تو جهان جوانی و از جوان عیری بان بود

It may be frankly admitted that despite the fact that Khusrau tried to make out the case of poetry, he could only succeed in giving preference to poets over the hackneyed scholars The genuine and original scholars may not be placed lower than the poets

Khusrau continues his argument in regard to the preference of poetry by citing Hadis and verses from the Quran The words علم and شعر have the same meaning as may be inferred from the following verse. "وَهُم لَا يَشعُرُونَ" (They do not understand) The term "لايشعرون" may be replaced by "لاَيَعلمُونَ" The Prophet had several Hadis in this regard:

"إنّ مِنَ الشّعرِ لَحِكمَةً" (philosophy or wisdom is part of poetry)
"وإنّ من الشعر لحكمةً وإنّ من البيان لسحراً" (philosophy is a branch of poetry,

narration is that of magic) At one place the Prophet calls poetry a root and philosophy a branch, while in the Quran philosophy or knowledge has been called a virtue "مَن یُؤتیَ الحکمۃ فقد اُوتیَ خیراً کثیراً"
(One who has been bestowed with knowledge, has been granted much virtue and goodness) Amir Khusrau concludes that as in the Tradition philosophy has been called a branch of verse and not the vice-versa, the status of poetry is higher than that of philosophy and the latter is contained in the former This is why a poet is called a philosopher but the vice-versa is not true Similarly narration or eloquence is called a part of magic and not the latter a part of the former So poetry may be called magic but not the vice versa Thus the poet may be called magician but a magician cannot be called a poet

Then Khusrau tried to remove a suspicion The Quran[6] says, "We have not taught him poetry" This was because if such a thing had not been revealed the Arab infidels would have strung the best gem of the mine of creation into the string of the false poets basing the argument on the saying,[7] "The best poets are most liar" The infidels must have gone even to attribute the Quran to be the creation of the Prophet for they have declared that شرع being a transposition of شعر is based on it But the fact is in the شعر (poetry) itself there is no inherent defect The position of poetry may well be judged by the following saying of the Prophet[8]

"If the Revelations were to be had on any class other than the Prophets, they would have been on the Poets and the Eloquents"

Khusrau continues that the Quran has been revealed in versified form and all the poetical artifices are contained in the holy book At some places in it one may come across an actual line or a hemistich

One such example[9] is·

والنّازعات غرقاً ، والنّاشطات نشطاً ، والسّابحات سبحاً ، فالسّابقات سبقاً ،

Another example[10] is·

والمرسلات عرفاً ، فالعاصفات عصفاً ، والنّاشرات نشراً ، فالفارقات فرقاً ، فالملقیات ذکراً ،

However it is an example of versified form (منظوم) and not of poetry (شعر) and it is this form which facilitates the task of

the memorisers (حفاظ) to memorise the whole of the Qùran by heart

The verse of the Quran وَلَا رَطْبٍ وَلَا يَابِسٍ إِلَّا فِي كِتَابٍ مُبِينٍ [There remains no wet or dry (things) which may not be contained in the Divine Revelation], fully establishes that all knowledge that may be available in the wet or dry parts of the world is contained in the Quran Thus those who claim that the poetic knowledge (علم شعر) is not available in the holy book repudiate its views However the poets who follow the path of Satan have gone astray, and there are those condemned by Allah But the poets who tread the path of fidelity and righteousness are sure to have divine favours on the Day of Judgment

To substantiate his theory Khusrau observes that Zamakhshari,[11] the author of the *Tafsir-i-Kashshaf* has related from Khalil b Ahmad that the Prophet has a liking for poetry Similarly Abdul Qadir Jurjani in his work *Dalailul Ejaz*, has explained that Hassan b Thabit, Abdullah b Rawahe and Kab b Zuhair used to recite poem in praise of the Prophet who would listen to them and admire them Then Khusrau quotes several illustrations indicating the Prophet's interest in poetry, a topic which has been taken up by several earlier and later scholars including the outstanding bilingual Indian scholar, Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami d 1200 A H (1785 A D) who had added a discussion in his *Subhatul-Marjan*[12] and thereafter in the *Sarw-i-Azad*[13] These are the illustrations quoted by Amir Khusrau·

1 Once the Prophet addressed Kab b Zuhair[14] and said that Allah has neither forgotten him nor what he had written on Kab's enquiry the Prophet asked Abu Bakr Siddiq to read the poem which the latter did as follows

زَعَمَتْ سَخِينَةُ أَنْ سَتَغْلِبُ رَبَّهَا وَلَيُغْلَبَنَّ مُغَالِبُ الغَلَّابِ

(The Quraish misjudged that they would dominate Allah, but those seeking domination became dominated by one who is the best dominator (i e Allah)[15]

2. The Prophet inspired the poet Hassan bin Thabit with these words :

قُلْ وَرُوحُ القُدُسِ مَعَكَ

(Recite and the Gabriel is with thee)

3 Once the Prophet had remarked

إنّ اللہ کنزاً تحت العرش مفاتیحہ السنۃ الشعراء

(Verily Almighty God is treasure beneath the Arsh and its keys are the tongues of the poets).

4 The Prophet had called poets the leaders

الشّعراء امراء الکلام

(The poets are the leaders of discourse)

5 Once the Prophet recited the following line in a gathering of his companions

لقد لسعت حیۃ الہوی کبدی   فلا طبیب لہا ولا راقی

(The serpent of evil desires has stung my heart, but there is no physician or enchanter to cure the melody)

The Prophet was so excited with joy that his sheet fell down from his shoulder and he at once remarked

من لم یہتز عند ذکر الحبیب فہو لیس بکریم

(One who did not rejoice when his friend is being mentioned, is not generous).

6 There is another saying of the Prophet which shows his liking for poetry ·

علّموا صبیانکم الشعر فانّہ یورث السّماحۃ

"Teach your young ones poetry for verily it would generate gallantry (in them)"

7 The Prophet had addressed the infidels of Mecca who had borne great enemity and ill-will towards him, in the following words ·

لأن یمتلی جوف احدکم قیحا یریہ خیر من ان یمتلی الشعر

(If any one fills his belly with an unwanted matter which he would vomit, it is better that he should fill it with poetry)

This follows Amir Khusrau's reference to Hazrat Ali's poetry which occupies such a sublime place as would last till eternity After quoting the Hadis مدینۃ العلم وعلیّ بابہا (I am the city of knowledge and Ali is its door), Khusrau argues that Ali's knowledge emanates from the Prophet and the Prophet's knowledge

from the divine Revelation (وحیٌ یوحی) Thus Ali's knowledge is divine and his poetry based on knowledge has divine origin so it must have its impression on the Divine Tablet (لوحِ محفوظ) All this goes to prove that poetry should not be abused and accused for if poetry had been an evil thing, it would have not been added to the knowledge of the Prophet because he was a divine scholar (عالم ربّانی) and not a wordly one (عالم ربانی)

Continuing his argument Amir Khusrau refers to Hazart Aisha's composing poetry (without quoting any example) Then follows a line recited by Hazrat Abu Hanifa.

أحِبُّ الصالحين ولستُ منهم   لعلّ الله يرزقني صلاحا

(I love the righteous but I myself am not one of them ,

I wish God would have granted me righteousness)

This is followed by a line illustrating Imam Shafài's talent as a poet.

ولولا الشعر بالعلماء يزري   لكنتُ اليوم أشعر من لبيدِ

(If poetry had not been disparagement for scholars today
I would have been a poet better than Labidi)

Amir Khusrau argues that Imam Shafai in the above line does not mean to accuse poetry in general because Hazrat Ali who was a greater scholar had composed poetry and Imam Shafái would not open his mouth against Hazrat Ali·

بخلافِ علی ار گوئی ای خواجه سخن   عیب گیرم زتو، گر عیب نگیری از من

(O, Khwaja if thou sayth something against Hazrat Ali
I shall accuse thee even if thou may not have accused me).

Khusrau's argument is based on the presumption that Hazrat Ali was a poet who has left a diwan but the scholars have serious doubts about the authenticity of its attribution to him

It may be noted that Khusrau has based his statement with regard to the Prophet's interest in poetry on later sources The earlier scholars have written on this topic more exhaustively, for example Baihaqi in his *Dalailul Nubuwah*[16] has included a separate chapter called باب الاختياره صلی الله علیه وسلم الشعر and has discussed this point in an elaborate manner. Jalalud-din Siwti has also useful information on this topic in his *Khasaisul Kubra.*[17]

Another point to be noted is that Khusrau does not refer to his sources while quoting the traditions and sayings, but Azad Bilgrami while writing on the same topic has referred to all the sources that he has used This has made the latter's deliberations more scholarly than those of Amir Khusrau

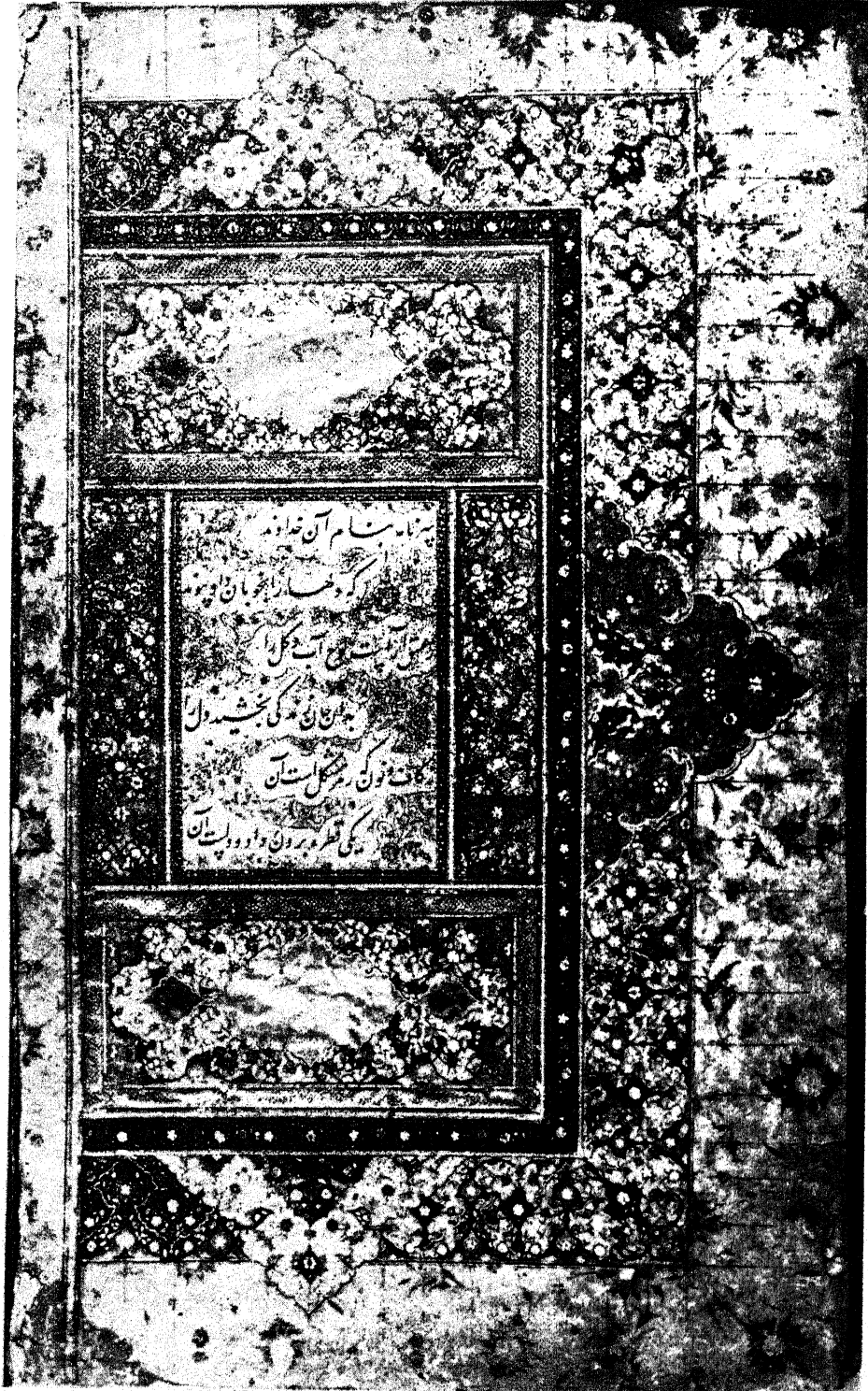
After dealing with poetry in general Khusrau proceeds to the consideration of the preference of Persian over Arabic poetry However he was fully conscious of the fact that Persian as a language cannot compare favourably with Arabic which because of being a language [18] of Revelation is the احسن الالسنہ (the best of the languages) But the savant prefers Persian poetry on account of the following points

1 Though Persian prosody is borrowed from Arabic, the former has made much improvement on it Its metre-system has grown so subtle that even an addition or subtraction of a single letter or diacritical sign would disturb the metre, which an average reader would easily mark, but in Arabic an addition or deletion of a word would not make any substantial difference

2 The Arabic language is very exhaustive and elaborate in the sense that a word has several meanings as well as several synonyms This facilitates the task of a poet Persian is devoid of this merit with the result that a Persian poet finds it difficult to express his views forcefully and effectively Despite this drawback the Persian poets have produced poetry of very high standard

3 Arabic poetry is مقفّی and not مردّف ; while Persian has both قافیہ and ردیف and this special feature adds to the charm of Persian poetry

After putting forward these arguments Khusrau compares Arabic poets with Persian and declares the superiority of the latter To him Khaqani's diction is superior to that of Abiwardi.[19] Anwari d 581 A H (1185 A D) and Kamal-Isfahan d 635 A H (1237 A D) may be preferable to Mutanabbi [20] in fluency and imagination, while Muarri[21] may not be a match to Saiyid Hasan Ghaznawi, d 556 A H (1160 A D), Nizami Ganjawi d. after 597 A.H (1200 A D) and Zahir Faryabi d 598 A H (1201 A.D.) in respect of good words and better meaning (لفظ حسن و معانی احسن)

Then he summarises thus: Persian poetry is better than Arabic in

A page from an illustrated work of Amir Khusrau.

حسن وزن (charming measure) لطافت معانی (delicacy of meanings) and ازدیاد ردیف (addition of radif)

I may be excused for adding that Khusrau is not correct in his judgment The points on the basis of which he prefers Persian poetry to Arabic may be the special features of Persian poetry, and Arabic poetry too possesses certain distinctive characteristics in which it stands alone Hence the question of preference of one over the other does not arise Even in pointing out the special features of Persian poetry Khusrau has not shown an admirable critical aptitude The distinguishing features of Persian poetry may be as follows

1 Persian has a huge stock of ghazal literature unsurpassed and unapproached by any literature of the world

2 Persian has immense literature on philosophy and ethics and in this respect Persian poetry stands matchless

3 Sufistic literature available in Persian remains unequalled by any other literature

As a result of all this Persian has produced poets like Firdau'si, Maulana Rum, Sa'di and Hafiz whose likes no single language may boast to have produced

Khusrau argues that an Arab brought up in Fars or Khurasan is incapable of writing Persian correctly, so the question of composing poetry or producing a literary style does not arise, while a Persian even residing in his land would acquire such a stage of proficiency in Arabic as is capable of producing admirable poetry Then Khusrau tries to substantiate his point by citing the examples of Zamakhshari and Sibwaih This argument is flimsy and would not stand the test of evidence An Arab would not compose in Persian not because he is incapable of doing so but because he thinks it below his dignity to write in the language of the conquered people, just as a Persian would do in respect of the Indian languages Zamakhshari and Sibwaih were scholars, linguists and lexicographers and not poets or writers Hence these examples would not substantiate the points raised by Khusrau

Then Khusrau proceeds to the consideration that Indian people in general and residents of Delhi in particular are superior in poetic talents to the people of the whole world He says :

سکنۂ دہلی بطبع از نیکوطبعان ہمہ عالم غالب آیند

(The residents of Delhi are superior to the poets of the world in poetic talent).

طبع نیکو طبعان دہلی بر حکم حجج عقلی فایق است از جملۂ طبایع جہانیان

(The poetic temperament of the poets of Delhi is superior to those of the whole world on grounds of judicious arguments)

Khusrau argues in this way If an Arab or Khurasani or a Turk or a Hindu happens to reside in Delhi or Multan or Lakhnauti for the whole of his life he would not succeed in acquiring proficiency in a language other than his own But a writer who is brought up in Delhi is capable of acquiring proficiency in any language of his choice and would excel both in prose and poetry It was his personal experience that residents of Delhi who had been in Arabia for some time had acquired a stage of proficiency not reached even by the eloquent Arab people Similarly non-Turk (Tajik) Indians had learnt Turkish in India and had gained such proficiency as astonished the native Turks

About Indian Persian and Persian poets Khusrau has supplied important information Indian Persian is more similar to Persian of Transoxian than to that of Iran The language spoken in Khurasan is some times not a standard one for residents of this region pronounce چه as چی and کی as کو and they write as they pronounced. But Khusrau does not approve of it According to him the standard form should be that a word does not differ in writing and pronounciation

Indian Persian is one and the same from the mouth of the Sind river to the Bay of Bengal This is one of the reasons why Khusrau has produced admirable works in Dari Persian

Khusrau continues that the Hindi language substantially differs at every hundred Kuruh but Persian spoken over four thousand Farsangs is just the same In it the words agree in writing and pronounciation It is not like that of the Atrariyans or the Isaghuyans who pronounce کرده as کردهص and کرده کن or that of the Sistanians who add بن at the end of each word such as گفته بن، رفته بن The native scholars declared Persian of Delhi as the standard Persian while the inhabitants of Delhi laughed at the way the native people spoke their language·

ای خراسانی تو از گفتار من رنجیدهٔ باش تا ربو رسد این نکتهٔ غرا بمن

(O, Khurasani if thou hast not heard my speech, then wait so that my subtle poetry may reach thee)

Khusrau continues that the Indians have a say in respect of the languages of all but no one can claim to have anything to do with the language of the Indians and the savant has cited his preface to the *Ghurratu'l Kamal* in testimony for the same

Unfortunately I fail to subscribe to Khusrau's view regarding his arguments in preference of Indian Persian over the Iranian Persian and the poets of Delhi over the poets of the world But the time and space would not permit me to explain my views in this respect However the importance of his statement lies in supplying some first hand information about Persian phonology perhaps not available anywhere else

Then the poet considers the problem of praise and satire He observes that what is impermissible in poetry is accusation of both praise and satire, though the fact remains that the former is a magic on the lips of the magicians which can turn the impure dog and a foolish donkey into a sagacious human being, while satire قدح is a speech which when produced by the tongue of fiery people turns ruby into stone and aloe-wood into ashes The ingot of poetry embellishes the coins of praise and satire equally How admirable are the poets whose abuses are so charming

The earlier masters have well said that a statement which has a tinge of impurity is sin (وزر) and a speech even if it all be poetry which has a colour of falsehood becomes a thing of ridicule for the readers But the ugliest face of deception when reflected into the mirror of poetry becomes as attractive as possible Thus the elixir which turns the copper of impurity into pure gold may not be subject to disapprobation

Then Khusrau takes upon another point Some persons disapprove poets as they have no worldly wealth and pleasures. They hold the poets' life a failure Khusrau is very critical towards this class of people whom he calls illiterate ((جاهل)). According to him a poor person possessing excellence (فقر مع الفضل) is thousand degree superior to those illiterate who possess wealth but no accomplishments (مال مع الجهل.). This discussion concludes on an anecdote on a dialogue between Mutannabi and Saifud-Daula

to the purport that excellence is better than wealth because the former is permanent while the latter is subject to decay

This discussion contains a statement in praise of poetry which may be one of the best pieces in the *Dibacha* I shall quote it here

اما شعر دوستی است موافق طبع که جز با سازندهٔ خویش نسازد و جز نامهٔ نیک نامی به پردازندهٔ
خویش نبردارد، چراغی است که هرگز از باد حوادث نمیرد و از نفس هیچ تاریک دلی تاریکی
نپذیرد، و شمعی است که در مجلس روشن دلان فروزندهٔ خود را رخشنده دارد و جانی است
که تا قیامت صاحب خود را زنده دارد، وفاداریست که هر کجا رود نام منشی خویش خواند،
حق گزاریست که گویندگان را بر نام شاعر سجده کنانند .

(And poetry is an agreeable friend who does not adapt itself except with its composer and would not ensure good name except for its writer It is a light which would not extinguish by the wind of calamity and would not be darkened by any depraved person, it is a candle which keeps enlightened its enlighter in the assembly of the enlightened It is a soul which keeps alive its master till the day of Judgment, it is a faithful friend which remembers its composer wherever it goes, it is obligation discharger which causes the subsequent poets to bow down before its author)

Then Khusrau enters upon a discussion of the classification of Persian poets who may be placed in three categories

1 Those who have a separate style of their own not borrowed from others Hakim Sanai, Anwari, Zahir Faryabi, Nizami Ganjawi etc may be put in this category

2 Those who have not a particular style of their own, but are followers of the style and diction of the earlier masters They may not have actually learnt from the masters, but because of their following their style they may be called as their pupils.

3 Those who imitate the styles of the superior masters but do not accept them as their superiors They are imposters and their claim of being the master of a separate style is untenable

Then Khusrau imposes the following conditions for being called a master-poet (استاد مطلق).

1 He should be the master of a particular style not common with any other master of the art

2 His diction should be that of a poet and not of a Sufi or a preacher

3 His writings must be free from defects and blemishes

4 He should be original in his imagination and his thoughts and ideas must not be borrowed from others In the words of Khusrau he should not be like a tailor who stitches a garment of thousand patches obtained from others

Khusrau very humbly applies these conditions to his poetry and observes that his poetry falls short of the standard in respect of the first and the third conditions He says that he may not claim to be the master of style for he has imitated the earlier masters

چون بسرو طرز ہر سوادم   پس شاگردم نہ اوستادم

(As I am the imitator of the styles of others, I am only a pupil and not a master)

Similarly according to his own observation his poetry is not free from defects

"نظم بنده اگرچه بیشتر روانست اما جا بجا در غزل ولغز لغزیدگی هم هست"

(My poetry is though mostly fluent, yet at times one may come across blemishes in his ghazals and puzzles)

But his poetry fulfills the other two conditions Regarding his mode of expression Khusrau says that his expression is on the pattern of poets and not of the type of Sufis and preachers In regard to his originality and independent thinking Amir Khusrau claims that he has not borrowed the fabrics of the carpet of his composition from others

قالی سخن را توانم افگند که رشته تا بی از کنار کسی نکشیده ام

He concludes that of the four conditions of mastery of Persian poetry with regard to two he has no claim In respect of being master of a particular and permanent style (مالک ملک طرز مدام) and being free from blemishes (خلاص از خط خطا) he has no stability But regarding the other two conditions—mode of expression, resembling that of poets and not of Sufis and preachers, and originality in thoughts his poetry satisfies these conditions So

he remarks that he is not a perfect master He is 50% master (مسلّم استادی نیم تمام دارم) He may be perfect only if the masters hold him perfect

I may be allowed to add that in passing judgment about his poetry Khusrau has not displayed the correct aptitude of a true critic which may be due to his modesty He is certainly an outstanding poet and a match to the best poets of Iran Khusrau's judgment about his own poetry must be shocking to those who hold his place higher than Nizami and similar other Persian poets of Iran

It may be noted that Khusrau regards the poets of Delhi superior to the poets of the world But when he comes to his own poetry he finds it not of such high order as to rank with the first class poets of Iran This contradiction may again be due to his own modesty

While discussing the merits of his poetry Amir Khusrau mentions the masters he has imitated In the ethical and didactic poetry he has kept Sanai and Khaqani as his model In qasida he has copied Raziud-din Nishapuri and Kamalud-din Isfhani, while in Masnawi and ghazal his models are Nizami Ganjawi and Sa'di Shirazi respectively But in muqatta and rubaiat, muamiyat and lughz he has none to follow Similarly his prose is the creation of his ownself having no model to copy

نثر بنده طبع خامه است که هیچ عنصر امیت ندارد، خلاصهٔ جوهر هست و اصحاب تخیل را نیکو معلوم

(My prose is the outcome of the nature of my pen which has no resemblance with any It is the choice of myself as is known well to men of imagination)

But these masters are distinct from his teachers or inspirers whom Khusrau mentions as follows·

Maulana Shihabud-din, Qazi Sirajul Millat, Tajud-din Zahid, Alaud-din Ali, his brother

Khusrau was adept in both Arabic and Hindi as well, and he has quoted eight lines from his Arabic poetry but he does not assign this poem a high place

He supplements the statement with the apology

ترک هندوستانیم من هندوی گویم جواب   شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن

(I am an Indian Turk, I may write in Hindi As I have no Egyptian sugar, I may not have discourse in Arabic)

However he had composed some Hindi poems but he did not deem it proper to insert Hindi verse in Persian But he was quite conscious of having written Hindi poetry successfully

چوں طوطی ہندم ار راست پرسی   زمں ھندوی پرس تا نغز گویم

[As I am an Indian parrot, if you truly ask me, you ask Hindi from me so that I may give you excellent (verses)]

While discussing mastery in poetry Khusrau refers to three categories of pupils The first called the Shagird-i-Isharat are those who pick up the subtle points the teacher or the master raises with a view to removing defects in other verses The second called the Shagird-i-ibrarat are those who successfully imitate the masterly style of their teachers The last called the Shagird-i-Gharat are those who steal words and phrases and ideas from the writings of other masters without acknowledgement "The drops of blood coming out of the heart of the wise are made darling of their heart" by these imposters May God protect poets and writers from such shameless persons

This is a description of Amir Khusrau as a critic of Persian language and literature As literary criticism was not then so developed as to form a separate discipline, the savant's view may definitely fall short of the modern standards But the manifold importance of his writings cannot escape the notice of any serious Persian scholar To me the *Dibacha-i-Ghurratu'l Kamal* may be studied in the light of these points

It is one of the earliest examples of Persian literary criticism certainly not borrowed from any other source

It contains more elaborate and exhaustive points than those covered by Nizami Aruzi in his *Chahar Maqala* written more than a century earlier It is also certain that Khusrau did not base his views on Aruzi's

It incorporates the views of a personality who was himself a poet of extraordinary merit, possessing a rare combination of critical acumen and poetic talent.

References

1 A sixth century Persian poet attached to the Khanian dynasty of Transoxiana See the *Lubabul Albab* pp 184-85

2. See the *Lubabul Albab* pp. 457-462.
3. See Iqbal Husain: *Early Persian Poets of India.*
4. He is an unknown poet mentioned in Khusrau's writings.
5. See the *Sarw-i-Azad* pp. 9-11.
6. The actual words are: وَمَا عَلَّمنَاہُ الشِّعرَ
7. The words are : اَحسَنُ الشعراءِ اکذبہم
8. The original words are:
   وَلَوکَانَ نُزُولُ الوَحی بعدا الانبیاءِ لنزل
   علی الشعراءِ والفصحاءِ
9. Quran Sura 79.
10. Ibid Sura 77 But in the printed copy of the *Dibacha* both are copied together.
11. For his life see *Muqaddamatul Adab,* Introduction.
12. Aligarh Ms f.
13. pp. 4-11.
14. Azad has attributed it on the authority of *Tafair Qartabi* to Kab b. Malik, *Sarw-i-Azad* p. 5.
15. *Sarw* : جاءالسخینۃکی and Sakhina refers to Quraish, *Ibid.*
16. See the *Sarw-i-Azad* p 6, *Dalailul-Nubuwah* V. 2 p. 164.
17. Hyderabad ed. V 2 p. 166.
18. Scholars would not agree with Khusrau's point of view that since the Quran was revealed in Arabic, it is the best of the languages: p. 29.
19. Muhammad b. Ahmad Abiwardi d. 507 A.H. (1103AD), the great scholar, writer and poet from Abiward in Khurasan, see *Lughat-nama.*
20. Abu at-Taiyib Ahmad b. Hussain d.354. A.H. (965AD), the most popular and most widely quoted poet in the Muslim world.
21. Abul Ala al-Muarri d 448 A H. (1056AD) was the philosopher poet of Syria.

Affectionate Response to the Indian Environment

SYED SABAHUDDIN ABDUR RAHMAN

Abdul Hassan Yaminuddin Khusrau, 650-725 A.H. (1252 1324 A.D.) has been admired as a wonderful being,[1] a strange phenomenon for all times [2], a gem of the mine of beliefs and river of gnosis [3], a man of such colourful personality and comprehensive ability, as even the fertile soil of Persia has not produced in a thousand years [4], a highly esteemed and enormously productive poet[5], an extraordinary genius for poetry with an almost supernatural energy and indefatigable capacity for work [6], Tilmız-ur-Rahman (a pupil of God) [7], a poet, who could write qasidas and ghazals with the same rapidity as our modern journalists write their daily editorials [8], a scholar of encyclopaedic knowledge and inventive talent, who could write extraordinarily voluminous work like *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* in five volumes consisting of 1179 pages a true disciple of his spiritual guide Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya, who was proud of the burning love which this Turk had for God in his heart, a pictureseque and boon companion for all his contemporary royal masters, and a skilled musician of enviable calibre who introduced many innovations in Indian music.

Poetic hyperbole apart, Khusrau was indeed a great genius. There was yet another trait which gave him a still wider dimension. He was a prince patriot, a great lover of his homeland and probably the foremost pioneer of emotional and national integration. Ancestrally he was a Lachin Turk, but he had an inborn love for India and adoration for every thing Indian. His life and works make it abundantly clear that only a few could excel him in the profuseness of national feelings and sublimity of patriotic sentiments.

He was born in Patiali in the district of Etah in Uttar Pradesh, but after his father's death he settled in Delhi, where he lived for sixty years till his death. In his early days, he enjoyed prosperous life with his maternal grandfather

Imad-ul-Mulk, who was an influential noble of the courts of Mamluk Sultans of Delhi After the latter's death he, at the age of twenty, became a companion of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban's nephew Alaud-din Kishli Khan and later on joined the Sultan's son Prince Bughra Khan in Samana

Attachment for Delhi

In 1280 A D the prince went along with his father to Lakhnauti Khusrau had to accompany his patron For the first time in Lakhnauti he felt the agony and anguish at the separation from Delhi which, instead of Patiali, had become his dear and sweet home In the distant land of Bengal he enjoyed the company and cordiality of his affectionate friends like Shams-ud-din Dabir and Qadi Athir etc The Prince also was very kind and considerate to him But Khusrau could not feel at home there and pined for Delhi When he ultimately got permission to return to Delhi, his joy was unbounded He later wrote that as he came out of Lakhnauti he felt as if Joseph had come out of his prison cell, and on reaching Delhi he likened his feelings to that of Joseph when he came back to Egypt [9]

After his return from Bengal, he basked under the warmth of the patronage of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban's another son, Prince Muhammad Sultan, who took him to his fief in Multan The Prince had a superb literary and poetic taste, so his court, according to Firishtah, had become the envy of the garden of paradise [10] He bestowed upon Khusrau all princely favours, but the latter always painfully felt the separation from Delhi He recollected Delhi to be the arch of Islam, the qibla of the kings of the seven realms, the twin-sister of the blessed heaven, and a tract of paradise on the surface of the earth In a long letter, written in an exotic flavour of style to a contemporary noble Ikhtiyar-ud-din, he bemoaned romantically that he missed the lofty palaces of Delhi raising their heads to the sky and overshadowing the sun itself, nor could he see the green fields of Delhi bedecked with roses, nor could he enjoy its springs which, according to his opinion, was brighter than the eyes, nor their running water, which he said was like milk flowing through sugar, nor its gardens, where he revelled in looking at rose-cheeked beauties bright as the pearls of their earrings, nor its melodies arising out of ud and rubab which according to him intoxicated the trees and rendered the fountains drowsy [11] His annual visit

to Delhi did however relieve much of his agony and pangs of separation from his beloved home

Hatred Against Foreign Aggressors

His love for Delhi was indeed intense, but his patriotism encompassed the whole country When Multan was invaded by Mongol raiders, he grew highly worried at this foreign aggression on his homeland In the beginning his patron Prince Muhammad Sultan warded off these raids successfully So he wrote pleasingly that the Indian troops fought against the enemy by standing in the battlefield like the mount of Caucasus[12], and yet in another verse he said that the bold Indian cavaliers caused even lions tremble[13] When the Mongol invaders were valiantly repulsed, he felt glad that the infidels could not inflict loss on India on account of the heroic swordmanship of Indian soldiers[14] In 1285 A D the Mongols made still more barbarous raids on Multan Khusrau considered it a heavenly calamity, a day of judgment, a deluge of disaster or mischief for the entire country[15] In depicting the heroic fight of the Indian army, he gave full vent to his usual hyperbolic fancy He wrote that with the march of Indian troops there was consternation even among the stars of the sky, tremors of earthquake were felt in the entire world, the sun was clouded with their dust, the sky began to shed tears, the day grew dark, the flames came out of their glittering swords, and the soil was about to be reddened with the blood of the fighting soldiers, etc While adulating Indian soldiers as bold, valiant and manful like Rustum, he in outright hatred against the aggressors of India, condemned them as man-eaters, cat eyed, faithless, shameless, ugly, having movement like monkeys and features like dogs He never felt tired in depicting their ignoble features He wrote that their heads, which were as even as eggs had the wings of owls on them, their faces were broad like shields, their eyes seemed pierced in their heads, water ran from their flat noses, which looked like frogs swimming in water, they ate rats and they ran after food like dogs, bad smells came out of their bodies, and persons sitting besides them could not help vomitting, etc[16]

Khusrau had no soft corner for those whom he considered enemies either of his motherland or of the crown He always used harsh words and phrases for them but once they became loyal to the crown, he wooed them with open arms and displayed a

great sense of religious, political and social toleration During the fight against the Mongols he was captured and his beloved patron Prince Muhammad Sultan was killed He mourned the Prince's martyrdom in an elegy which is considered to be a masterpiece in the art of pathetic versification Many of his friends were slaughtered in this battle, and he bewailed their losses and separation with tears which seemed actually to be streaked with the blood of his heart[17] This also provides a glimpse of his sincere and deep affection for his friends

After being released by the Mongol raiders, Khusrau came to Delhi, where, after some time, he was invited by a noble of Sultan Balban's court, Amir Hatim Khan, to join his company He entered into the nobleman's service but when the nobleman set out for Oudh, Khusrau actually burst into tears, as he was leaving Delhi, he wept and remained wailing with the march of the retinue[18] He lived in Ayodhya for two years He found the city charming like a garden In a letter to one of his friends he called its ground the ornament of the earth He was glad to find here flowers, wine, grapes, limes, pomegranates, oranges and other fruits in abundance He saw here the pretty scene of mulsari champa, juhi and kewra He felt delighted to smell all sorts of perfumes *viz*., sandal, aloe-wood, ambergris, musk, camphor and cloves etc In his usual flight of imagination he called the textile manufacture of this place namely jhambartali and bihari a pleasant gift of spring tide which sat as lightly on the body as moonlight on tulips or a dewdrop on mornnig roses.[19] He found the people courteous, faithful and generous Here he received many tray-ful of gold from his patron Amir Hatim Khan, but in spite of lively environment and lavish patronage, he could not help longing for Delhi, his mother and friends he had left behind When he got leave to come back to Delhi, he, according to his own words, traversed the way like a swift dart or like a flying arrow and reached the city happy like the moon of Id Here he smiled like a rose, and felt himself like a bird, which after experiencing the rigours of autumn comes back to a spring tide garden or a thirsty man reaches the Fountain of Life After seeing his mother and friends he found himself restored to life[20]

In Oudh he had witnessed the historic meeting of Bughra Khan, the Governor of Bengal with his son Kaiqubad, the Sultan of Delhi The latter had great faith in the poetic acumen of Khusrau so he asked him to commemorate it in verse Khusrau

found this task quite according to his taste He was by this time author of two diwans, *Tuhfat-us-Sighar* and *Wasat-ul-Hayat*, which had established his reputation of being a high class writer of erotic and eloquent verses in ghazals and qasidas He had composed some masnavis also, but he had yet to write a long masnavi to give evidence of his still greater command in poetic art He was a great admirer of Nizami Ganjavi's masnavis, but so long he felt unnerved in writing anything after his model When Sultan Kaiqubad asked him to undertake the task of versifying his historic meeting with his father in Oudh, he felt an urge to accumulate all his poetic talents and then composed *Qiranu's-Sadain* after the model of Nizami's *Makhzan-ul-Asrar* It was finished in six months in 1289 A D and consists of 3,944 verses

Khusrau was himself an eye-witness to the meeting of the father and the son, so according to Prof Cowell, he was able to throw himself into the scene and we have thus an interesting mixture of epic and lyric elements, each portion of the action being represented from objective and subjective point of view [21]

Besides this, we have in it an invaluable treasure of Khusrau's unlimited amount of admiration and adoration for every thing which was in his beloved city, Delhi We learn from him that the reputation of the faith and justice of Delhi had spread far and wide and so it was a garden of Eden,[22] in its qualities and characteristics it was an orchard of paradise [23] We find his exaggerated admiration for Delhi in verses in which he did not hesitate to write that after hearing about this garden, even Mecca begins to take round of Delhi, Medina gets deaf by listening to its reputation [24] Due to its characteristics it has become the qubbat-ul-Islam [25] He felt proud to note that the houses of the people of Delhi were well kept and well furnished and they looked like the corners of paradise [26] The residents of the houses spent ample amount of money in decorating and adorning them They themselves were well-mannered like angels, well-tempered and warm-hearted like the residents of paradise;[27] they were matchless in industry, knowledge, literature, music and in the art of manufacturing bows and arrows [28]

Khusrau loved everything Indian. He was ecstatic in his praise of the simple-hearted and sweet faced beauties of Delhi He liked the climate of Delhi and India also, so he wrote that

if any one tasted once the water of this country, he would never like to drink the water of Khurasan[29] He felt delighted to find that in Delhi flowers were seen blooming in every part of the year and its land looked full of silver and gold due to them, here green verdure was as good as of paradise,[30] here fruits of India and Khurasan were always found in abundance, some fruits which were available here were not to be had in Khurasan[31] He liked the melons of Delhi very much, so he said that this was preferable to all fruits of paradise and this was as sweet as sugar[32]

The poet's pen got still livelier when he described the architectural grandeur of the city He observed that the Muslims of Delhi considered its Jama Masjid, having nine domes, as good as Ka'ba According to him, Qutub Minar, the upper storey of which was made of gold, served as a stair to reach the seventh sky and it acted also as a pillar to sustain the domes of the sky[33] His graphic description of Shamsi Haud, built by Sultan Shams-ud-din-Iltutmish is worthy of being studied for getting its accurate structural information We know from him that it flowed between two hillocks, its water was so clean and transparent that the particles of sand sparkled even in the night from its lowest depth, its water did not go deep because of its stony ground, its waves struck a hillock, its sweet water was drunk in every house Many canals had been dug out from the river Jamuna up to this reservoir In the midst of it there was a platform, on which was constructed a building The fowls and fishes of the reservoir presented a beautiful spectacle Here people gathered together to enjoy its pleasant sight[34] Khusrau described this reservoir in his *Khazain-ul-Futuh* also, in which he wrote that the building in the centre was like bubble on the surface of the sea and the dome together with the tank looked like an egg of the ostrich half in water and half out of it[35]

Khusrau has not failed to give a vivid picture of the pomp and grandeur of royal palaces of Delhi in which we can relish his poetic fancy also The new palace of Kilokhari was built by Sultan Kaiqubad on the western bank of Jamuna at the distance of three miles from old Delhi Khusrau called this palace a paradise on the door of which hung the branch of Tuba (a tree in paradise) According to him it was so high that its height served as a cloud for the sun, its shadows fell on the river, the lower portion of the palace was built of bricks; it had the plaster of lime which looked transparent like glass, the upper part was

built of white stone, on one side, it had the river, the running water of which looked like the mirror of a new bride, on the other side there was a garden, the branches of which hung inside the palace"[6]

Sultan Kaiqubad celebrated the festival of Nauroz (New Year's day) inside this palace In portraying the revelry of this celebration, Khusrau entertains us with his poetic imageries, which are invested at the same time with a charm of singular mode of versified expression His delination was that the palace was richly decorated on the occasion Its parapets were made attractive with the curtains of velvet and brocaded silk hanging on the nine arches of the palace The venue of the celebration was a majestic pavilion, having five parasols, four of which were black, white, red and green and the fifth one was loaded with flowers The black parasol had an engraved artistry of extraordinary quality along with hanging pearls which looked like showers of rain pouring forth from dark clouds The white parasol was circular, the roofs, the doors and pillars of which were embedded with gold It was adorned with dazzling gems The red parasol besides having various species of pearls was decorated with quartz The green parasol was covered with green velvet overcrown with a green shadowy tree laden with fruits The parasol of flowers was bedecked with myriads of blossoms and flowers On the left and right sides of the court red and black flags moved in the air On either sides there stood one thousand caprisoned horses The horses on the right side wore black apparels, while the horses on the left side had red apparels on them Behind them were arrayed the long rows of elephants which looked like a fort of iron In the midst of the court there was built an artificial garden of gold and jewels The fruits of these artificial branches appeared as if they were just to drop The birds were shown sitting on them in such a way as if they were just to fly Many trees were made of wax Charming vases of flowers were also placed here and there They looked like a garden in which besides green grasses, tulips, roses and willows were shown blooming The entire court was decorated with embroidered cloths also Curtains of velvet and silken cloths, having species of quartz of beautiful violet, purple or blue shade hung on door in such a manner as the stones of the wall also seemed to be transformed into jewels with the glitter and lustre

of quartz The floor also was covered with pearls and gold When the King sat on the throne, his crown shed its own lustre His long coat was interwoven with high workmanship of gold The knots of precious gems hung in his crown, long coat and belt in such a way as the lustre of belt spread to his waist The glitter of his long coat overtook his neck and the glamour of his crown overshadowed his head As soon as the King arrived there to celebrate the festival, the royal body-guards moved here and there and the chamberlain got the rows in order Swordsmen were ordered to stand on right and left side The atmosphere of the court was scented with Chinese musk [37]

Khusrau described the meeting of Sultan Kaiqubad with his father Bughra Khan in Oudh with the same ardour of his poetic-passion He gave elaborate details of the gifts which were exchanged from both sides They included aloe, cloves, musk, ambergris, camphor, sandal, gold, jewels, pearls, quartz, horses, camels, swords, daggers, bows, slaves brought from Tartar and Khutan, brocaded and silken costumes etc Khusrau was greatly surprised by seeing some specimens of the Indian textile, so he appreciated them by writing that they were so fine that body looked transparent if costumes made of such cloths were put on, and some of its varieties could be wrapped in a nail.[38]

He has given a graphic description of the royal banquet given on this occasion which helps us to know some of the cultural refinements of those days He informs us that there were more than one thousand kinds of cooked victuals and drinks on the tables The syrup of the rose was used for change of morsels Varieties of sweet dishes were beyond enumeration Nan tunuk, tanuri, kak and sambosa were a few varieties among the breads Numerous kinds of pilaos were also served, one of which was prepared with dates and grapes Roasted meats of goats, rams and deer were in abundance and among the fowls partridges, quails and tihoo were also there [39]

Praise for Indian Men of Letters

Khusrau compiled his second collection of verses entitled *Ghurratu'l-Kamal* in 689 A H (1290 A D) In its preface, he once more gave expression of his excessive patriotic feelings by trying to claim that the literary luminaries of India, specially of Delhi, were superior to the learned men of the world In support of this

he argued that whenever the citizens of Arabia, Khurasan and Turkey came to India, they spoke their own language and they composed verses in the same tongue But when an Indian, specially a citizen of Delhi, went anywhere, he could compose verses in the language of that place Citizens of India, without even visiting Arabia, could compose verses in Arabic, the purity and grace of which excelled an Arab poet There was a large number of Tajiks and Turks who had received education exclusively in India, but their graceful speeches were worthy of being envied at even by the purists of Khurasan Khusrau contended that Iran is no doubt the home of Persian language, but so far as its purity was concerned, it existed in Transoxania only He claimed that in India it was as good as it was in Iran He cast aspersion on the citizens of Khurasan by writing that they did not pronounce words accurately چه and کی were pronounced by them as چی and کچ He felt proud in saying that in India Indians spoke Persian just as they wrote it He decried the pronunciation of the people of Azerbaijan who while speaking کرده concluded with کردکن ، Similarily he underrated the pronunciation of the people of Siestan who made superfluous addition of سیں along with verb, so in speaking کرده and گفته they said کرده سیں and گفتہ سس .Khusrau boasted of the superiority of India by writing that whenever learned men and purists came here from outside, the Indians laughed at them because they could speak quite like them and write Persian free from all errors and flaws [40]

Ghurratu'l-Kamal has in its collection a masnavi called *Miftahul-Futuh* in which Khusrau recorded his admiration of the fortress of Jhain He was wonderstruck to find that it looked as high as the sky; it was engraved with hard stones, it was a paradise of the Hindus, its engraving were very attractive, art of the famous painter Mani dwindled into insignificance before them, hundreds of statues were seen here, the like of which was very difficult to prepare even from the wax, the plaster of the walls looked transparent like mirrors, if Farhad had dreamt of such a palace, he would have forgotten the sweet memories of Shirin, its plasters were made of scrubbed sandal, its woods were of pure aloe-wood, in its garden there were many temples which had the engraving and artistry of gold and silver [41]

Amir Khusrau's sense of patriotism grew still more exuberant at the time of compiling his masnavi *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan* in 715 A H (1315 A D) which describes the love episode of Alauddin Khalji's son and the daughter of Raja Karan, the ruler of Gujarat The story is purely Indian in nature, here Khusrau deals with a lot of Indian themes and elements, which shows that by this time his patriotic sentiments had grown wider and deeper so it did not remain confined to Delhi only but he had been grasping extraordinary amount of love for every thing which was Indian also.

Sanskrit Language Eulogised

While mentioning Sanskrit, he remarked that it was in no way inferior to Persian It had preference over all other languages except Arabic [42]

Persian has borrowed a large number of Arabic words but Arabic has no foreign word Similiarly Sanskrit had not borrowed words from other languages As regards Sanskrit grammar he was of opinion that it was like the Arabic one [43]

He admired an Indian textile fabric, namely Deogiri, by writing that it looked like the sun or the moon or the shadow He liked much the national fruit of India, the mangoes He did not feel pleased with those who gave preference to figs over mangoes He argued that it was just like a blind woman calling Basrah better than Syria [44]

Admiration for Indian Flowers and Beauties

Khusrau has mentioned all the Indian flowers which were then available The names of some of these flowers, according to him, were Sausan (iris), Saman (Jasmine), Rainan (sweet-basil), gul-i-surkh (red rose), gul-i-kuza, gul-i-sufaid (white rose), kiura (screw pine), sipar gham, sadburg, nastran, dauna, karan, nilofar, dhak, champa, juhi, sewti, gulab rose), baila and mulsari etc Khusrau makes us believe that banaisha, yasman and nastran were brought to India from Iran, otherwise all other flowers were purely Indian He has versified these flowers in a singularly charming way of his poetic expression [45] For example about gul-i-kuza he observed that in it there is cleanliness of water, but the water itself has begged its freshness from it.[46] As regards bail he said that it has broad forehead and in one flower of it there are

seven flowers[47] About juhi he wrote that its fragrance is heart-bewitching, so it is a vision for lovers and all hearts[48] It is interesting to know from him that the garments of beloveds were perfumed with kiura, the fragrnance of which remained fresh even after two years and even if the custumes got old and torn out the perfume persisted in them[49] Khusrau called champa the king of flowers, the scent of which, according to him, was like wine laden with musk, it was delicate like the jasmine-bodied beloved and its colour was pale like the face of a lover, the oil extracted out of them was more affective for head than musk[50] He admired mulsari by saying that its leaves were small and delicate but they were liked by all hearts, its flowers decorated the necks of the beloved[51] He called dauna the sweet basil of India,[52] the smell of which was much likeable He liked karna much because its smell made houses and lanes fragrant[53] He applauded sewti by remarking that a wasp sacrifices its life in love of it, and even when it dies it does not like to be away from it, and all the beautiful ones are in search of it like lovers, it is really a beloved among the beloveds[54] He finishes this chorus of praise by observing that Indian flowers are better than all the flowers of the world, the paradise only is likely to have possessed such flowers If Rome and Syria had such flowers they would have trumpeted out their glory all over the world

Amir Khusrau believed that like the Indian flowers, Indian beauties were worthy of being given preference to the beauties of Egypt, Rum, Qandhar, Samarqand, Khita, Khutan, Khalakh and other parts of the world His plausible and fanciful arguments were that the beauties of Yaghma and Khalakh could not compete with Indian beauties, because the former ones had sharpsightedness and sour visages The beauties of Khurasan were no doubt attractive because of their red and white colour, but they were just like their flowers i e they had colour but no fragrance The beauties of Russia and Rum had no humility and submission in them, they were cold and white like a block of ice, the beauties of Tartar had no smile on their lips, the beauties of Khutan lacked salt The beauties of Samarqand and Bukhara had no sweetness in them The silvered-bodied beauties did not possess a sagacity and agility Khusrau found every thing in dark and wheat coloured beauties of India which he did not perceive in international beauties. This is simply an evidence of the intensity and poignancy of his patriotic feelings[55]

Indian Marriage Ceremonies

In *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan,* there is a graphic description of Prince Khizar Khan's marriage ceremonies which helps us to know how the Turks were being influenced by the Indian sociological and social elements in their environment Khusrau felt highly delighted in giving all the details of this marriage He informed his readers that the preparation of the marriage began three months ahead Palaces and city of Delhi were tastefully decorated Pavilions were constructed here and there on which brocaded curtains were hung, walls were engraved, silken carpets were spread on special routes, different kinds of drums were beaten, acrobats displayed their tricks on ropes, magicians showed their magic by swallowing a sword and passing a knife through their noses, they transformed themselves at times into fairies and at other times into demons, masterly performance were shown in music by beating chang, barbat, tambura, kadoo and teen tal etc Dancing girls entertained the audience by giving an exhibition of their superb excellence in dance and music According to Khusrau, their eye-brows could make the breasts afflicted, their gracefulness robbed off a man's life, when they moved eye-lashes, young men got restless, when they laughed, the soul seemed to depart from body, their mole looked like a pearl, their eye-brows were like bows, their curls appeared like the darkness of the evening, their knots of tresses were like buds and their chins were like apples, coins were sprinkled on spectators through *marjanique*, marriage procession started at the time when astrologers described it auspicious, the bridegroom rode on a horse, he was followed by rows of elephants which had golden litters on their backs, soldiers held naked swords and daggers in their hands as if they were warding off the evil-eyes, quartz and pearls were showered on bridegroom, when he reached the bride's house he was seated on the valuable carpet, the nobles sat on either side according to their ranks, the sermon of nuptial was read in auspicious moments after which pearls were showered on audience and precious gifts were distributed among them, the bridegroom went inside the bride's house after some parts of the night passed-off; he was seated on a bejewelled and brocaded carpet; jewels and pearls were once more showered on him, after this the bride was brought before him to give her glimpses to him.[56]

In *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan* Khusrau has also described a Hindu devotee worshipping fire. When he was asked why did

he worship it and sacrifice his life at its alter, his answer was that the fire enlightened in his heart the hope of union and in perishing into it he earned perennial life Amir Khusrau advises his readers to have respect for this sublime emotion and high sense of devotion [57]

Khusrau's overwhelming sense of love for Delhi and India reached its climax when he compiled his masnavi *Nuh-Siphir* for Qutub-ud-din Mubarak Shah Khalji in 718 A H (1318 A D) While mentioning Delhi in this, he gave it preference to Baghdad, Egypt, Khita, Khurasan, Tabriz, Tirmiz, Bukhara, and Khwrzim and then in rapturous delight exclaimed that the heavens had ordained that Hindustan be better than all the countries of the earth [58]

Patriotic Emotions

In singing the sonorous songs of the greatness of India in the third *Siphr* of this masnavi, he could not help the torrents of his patriotic emotions growing into full spate He claimed that what India possessed in philosophy, wisdom, knowledge and art were something quite different from what other countries had [59] He wrote emphatically that he loved, of course, India very much, simply because it was his birth place, it was his refuge and it was his motherland, the Holy Prophet has said love of motherland is a part of faith [60] He then called India a paradise on earth, which he substantiated by arguing that (1) Adam landed here from heaven, (2) It is here that the bird of paradise, *i e* , peacock is seen, (3) Even the serpent came here from the garden of the sky, (4) When Adam left India, he was deprived of the blessings of paradise, (5) All the paraphernalia of luxury and merriment including the scents and perfumes could be available here In Rum and Ray flowers remained blooming for two or three years, but the land of India was always fragrant with flowers blossoming throughout the year, (6) India was a paradise due to its excessive amenities of life, (7) The Muslims considered this world a prison house but to them India was a paradise.[61]

He thought the climate of India better than that of Khurasan and other parts of the world and gave the following ten reasons in proof of it, (1) Its cold did not inflict any harm (2) The summer of India was better than the winter of Khurasan where people died of cold. (3) In India people did not make provision for much clothes in winter because they were not afraid of its cold. (4) In India flowers and wine were seen in abundance

throughout the year (5) Here flowers always looked attractive (6) Here flowers give fragrance even when they get dry (7) Here mangoes, plantains, cardamoms, camphors and cloves were produced (8) Here fruits of Khurasan were produced but in Khurasan fruits of India could not be cultivated (9) Here plantains and betel-leaves were quite strange (10) Betel-leaf was not to be found in any other part of the world[62] In his *Qiranu's-Sadain* he admired betel-leaf by writing that it is excellent, it renders the breath agreeable, it strengthens the gum and makes the hungry satisfied and the satisfied hungry[63]

The above ingenous arguments may not be convincing and look puerile and medieval in approach, but not even modern reader can fail to find in between these lines the sincerity and sublimity of the patriotic feelings of the poet

Affectionate Feelings for Hindu Learning and Religion

Khusrau also greatly admired the knowledge and learning of the Hindus, during the course of which he pleaded that the concealed wisdom and learned ideas in India were beyond calculation Greece was famous for its achievement in philosophy, but India also was not devoid of it Here logic, astronomy and dogmatic theology could be studied easily Hindus did not of course know jurisprudence but their knowledge in physics, mathematics and astronomy were worthy of consideration[64]

Some aspects of Hinduism also cast its spell on the mind and heart of Khusrau His co-religionists were believers in unity of God So he tried to convince them by proving that the Hindus also believed in oneness of God They did not follow his religion but most of their beliefs were similar to his religious ideas They also had the conviction that God is One, He is Eternal, He is the Inventor, He is the Creator, He is the giver of livelihood, He is Omnipotent[65]

Khusrau did not like to compare Hinduism with Islam but by making comparison with all other religions of the world, he considered it better than all of them, for which he offered the following reasons the dualists believed that there were two Gods but the Hindus believed in oneness of God The Christians think that Christ was the son of God but the Hindus did not accept this view The anthropomorphists believed that

God had physique, the Hindus did not subscribe to such a view The star worshippers believed that there were seven gods but the Hindus were free from such a belief The likeness similarised God with possibility, but the Hindus were opposed to it The fire worshippers thought light and darkness as two gods, but the Hindus had no such conception They worship stones, animals and trees but the spirit of their sincerity in workshipping them is worthy of being respected They believed that all these things have been created by one Creator They do not disobey this Creator They worship them only because their ancestors have been worshipping[66] them One of Khusrau's following verses is worthy of being greatly relished

اے کہ ز بت طعنہ بہ ہندو بری   ہم ز وے آموز پرستش گری

India's Superiority Over Other Countries

In extolling the greatness of India he had put forth a lot of arguments to prove that it was better than all the countries of the world (1) Here learning was more widespread than in other parts of the world (2) A citizen of India could easily learn the languages of the world, but an inhabitant of other country could not speak Sanskrit (3) Scholars of other countries came here from time to time to learn knowledge but no Indian tried to go anywhere in quest of learning (4) Numerical system and specially cyphers are purely the innovations of India (5) *Kalila Dimna* was written here (6) The game of chess was invented here. (7) Indian music enkindled fire in heart (8) Indian mathematics, *Kalila Dimna* got widely popular throughout the world (9) The enviable progress made by Indian music was incomparable It hypnotised even the wild deer of the desert (10) It was here that the wizard-poet Khusrau was born"[67]

Indian Languages

In describing the different languages spoken in India, he mentioned Hindi, Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Kubri, Dhor Samundri, Tilangi, Gujri, Mabari, Gori, Bengali, Avadhi and Sanskrit along with Persian and Arabic About Sanskrit he once more tried to make his readers believe that in quality it was lesser than Arabic but it was superior than Persian It was no less sweet than Persian[68]

Khusrau seems to have been greatly enamoured of Hindi He was once contemptuously referred to by one of his contemporary poets, 'Ubaid as a poet of Indian origin and his aspiration to equal Nizami Ganjavi in writing a masnavi was ridiculed as stew cooked in Nizami's pot and a foolish self-conceit' Khusrau did not feel ashamed of being an Indian, so he retorted that he was an Indian Turk, could reply in Hindi and had no Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabic[69] In another verse he says "I am the paroquet of India, question me in Hindi that I may talk sweetly"[70] In order to show his proficiency in this language he composed a large number of Hindi couplets, quibbles, enigmas, punning verses, ghazals with mixed vocabularies of Hindi and Persian, dohas and songs which are still sung in sonorous voices by womenfolk There is no doubt that a large number of Hindi verses have been wrongly ascribed to Khusrau Yet his contribution to Hindi poetry cannot be ignored even by a modern writer of history of Hindi literature It was he who made popular the use of Persian rhymes in Hindi poetry and showed the way for a synthesis of Persian and Hindi Again, it was he who strove to liberate Hindi from Prakrit and Apbhransa influence and used for the first time a simple and popular form of Hindi which led ultimately to the growth of a new language called Urdu

Indian Faunas and Magicians

Khusrau had great attachment for Indian faunas also In admiring some of the species he remarked that, (1) Indian parrots could speak like men (2) Sharak i e, magpie of India was not to be found in Iran and Arabia It also could speak like a man (3) Indian crows could betoken the future events (4) Indian sparrows were picturesque in their movements, flights and voices. (5) There were several kinds of other animals also which had strange features (6) Indian peacocks looked as attractive and beautiful as a bride (7) Peacocks do not pair in ordinary manner but the she-peacock swallows the fluid from the eyes of he-peacocks, after which she lays eggs. (8) Indian cranes could perform strange tricks after receiving training etc Khusrau referred to five other animals also. (a) He described an animal which looked like an antelope but howled like a jackal (b) Here horses could trot to music (c) Here a goat could stand on a lean wood by placing all its four hoofs on it, after which it could perform balancing feats (d) Here monkeys were so wise that they

could be called an imperfect man (e) Here elephants are no doubt four-legged animals, but they could act like men Khusrau wrote that he had himself learnt the lore of birds and beasts so well that he could understand their speech and he could experience how gods tell things about men through them [71]

Khusrau felt highly pleased in describing the art of Indian magician He believed that in India a man dying of snake poison could be restored to life, the span of a man's life could be extended, the soul of a man could be transferred to the body of another man, the blood of a man could be transfused to another man's body, a yogi could live for two hundred years by practising the exercise of slow breathing, and rain could be stopped falling from the clouds etc [72]

Khusrau was very much impressed by the sense of devotion which an Indian had for his master and an Indian woman had for her husband

According to him a Hindu could sacrifice his life for the idol he worshipped and for the master he served A Hindu wife immolated herself on the pyre of her husband Khusrau liked very much these devotions, so he wrote that if his religion permitted this, many of his co-religionists would have died eagerly in that manner [73]

Different Sections of Indian Society

In his masnavi *Nuh-Sipihr* he felt an urge to admonish the rulers of his motherland whom he wished to be ideal ones While giving several pieces of advice to the ruler he wrote that he must obey the commandments of God; he must strictly adhere to his own views and must faithfully act upon what he says, he must perform every thing with full firmness and determination; he must not be negligent in his duties; he must be very just, so that oppression and injustice might have no room in his kingdom; he must take care to keep high and low contended, so that the rich and the poor may remain equally happy [74]

Khusrau wanted different sections of Indian society to be well governed in their conduct He gave some pieces of advice to the nobles of his days also. they must first remain faithful to God and then to their royal master; they could be loyal to their worldly master only when they were true to God.

His advice to the soldiers was· they must be religious minded, they must not fight a battle for the sake of either ravaging tracts of land or earning fame, they must not destroy the crops of the farmers, they must not let their horses eat what the cultiyators produce by the sweat of hard labour Khusrau had laid code of conduct for Indian youth also they must speak the truth, they must be well-tempered and well-wishers for all, their nobleness of character lies in their forebearance and patience, anger and exasperation are simply madness, they must make honesty as their motto of life, which will help to make them religious minded, embezzlement brings forth miseries, envy and miserliness are great evils [75]

City of Devagiri Admired

Khusrau did not get tired of paying glowing tributes to India till the last days of his life His last collection of verses is his *Nihayatul-Kamal* In one of his qasidas he called Devagiri a wonderful and auspicious city and then wrote that by hearing the fame of Devagiri Egypt had dipped its garments into river Nile and Baghdad had rent itself asunder into two pieces and its breezes came out of paradise, the perfume of which made all its flowers fragrant In admiring the fruits of Devagiri he observed that the plantains of this place looked curved like the new moon and they were pleasant like the festival of Id, the mangoes of this place were highly delicious, they were the golden shells of milk and honey and when they were sucked they made the mouth sugar candy water He admired the textile fabrics of this place by writing that if they were compared with the skin of the moon removed by executioner star, it might excel in its fineness with the latter, one hundred yards of it could pass through the eye of a needle and yet a point of a steel needle could pierce through it without difficulty; it was so transparent and light that it looked as if one was wearing no dress at all but had only smeared body with pure water.[76] He applauded the music of this place by making use of the same ardour of his poetic passion, so he remarked that when chang was played here its sweetness made even Venus lament and the melodies arising out of this city could make the dead ones alive [77]

Passionate Love for Indian Music

Khusrau had a great admiration for Indian music also, and exultatingly claimed that no music of any other country could

surpass it With his passionate love for India, he was not expected to ignore the thrill and magic of Indian music for which he felt an instinctive love While his co-religionists were interested in sound and sensation of Persian music, he tried to break the barrier between the two schools by bringing them closer By the amazing vitality of his genius he introduced a new tone in Indian music by interlinking some of its purbi, gauri, kangli and a Persian *rag* into sazgari and then he intermixed khatrag and shahnaz into zilaf His ushshaq is a mixture of sarang, basant, nawa and again his muwafiq is a combination of turi, malwa dugah and hussaini[78] Abdul Hameed Lahori in his *Badshah Namah* writes that prior to Khusrau, in India only geet, chhand, dhurpad and astit were sung, but Khusrau made many innovations They are (1) qaul, in which Persian and Arabic verses were sung on one to four tals (2) In another innovation Persian verses were sung along with tarana on one tal It was probably qalbana (3) In tarana there was no verse, but it was sung on one tal (4) Khiyal is also Khusrau's innovation[79] Some scholars of the art of the music are of opinion that Khiyal was innovated by Hussain Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur but Dr Suniti Mutatkar, formerly Director of Indian music, All India Radio, contends that Khiyal emerged from the chalant bols of qawwali and as qawwali is Amir Khusrau's innovation, so the origin of Khiyal also must be attributed to him A very interesting story is narrated about Khusrau's ingenuous adaptability of catching a new *rag* and mixing it with Persian one Naik Gopal was a very famous musician in his time He hailed from the south but came to Delhi and enjoyed Alauddin Khalji's patronage He was highly respected by his two thousand disciples who did not let him walk on ground, so they carried him from one place to another in a palanquin He once gave demonstration of his art in the royal court Khusrau listened to it by hiding himself behind the royal throne He picked up Gopal Naik's technique and when he sang the Iranian *rag* qaul in Gopal Naik's style, the latter got highly surprised and said that it was simply a plagiarism, though he himself could not help repudiating it[80] Most of the songs sung by women in marriage ceremonies, along with bahar *rag*, rang, sarang, *rag* sarang, holi khamach, and basant are ascribed to Khusrau and are still sung in different parts of India It is popularly believed that sitar, dholak of qawwali and qawwali itself were innovated by him[81] In the introduction of *Ghurratu'l-Kamal*, he

writes that he could have written three volumes on music but he did not do so He learnt the art of music to enkindle in his heart the fire of the love for God, but he experienced it in the pious assembly of Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya, so he did not devote his time in writing on music There is however a chapter on music in his *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, which only the expert of this art can fairly understand and grasp it (Vol I p 275-290)

Khusrau's affectionate response to the Indian environment not only delights the fancy by its general brilliancy and spirit, but moves all the tender and nobler feelings with a deep and powerful imprint His abundance of appreciation of every thing which was Indian may obviously look as simply an overwrought effusion of poetic ardour He however deserves our admiration not only for his remarkable gift of touching nothing that he could not adorn. but also an impressive intellectual force and effective example for opening a vista of the catholicity of patriotic feelings and nobility of national sentiments He was a devout follower of Islam His devotion to his religion is still unchallengeable He was nevertheless a prince patriot with an undiminished glory to catch and reflect various aspects of Indian life His life is an inspiring message for all of us that the rigour and orthodoxy of religion, if followed and practised in right earnest, can be no barrier to the cultivation and absorption of spirit of love and adoration for the country of our birth as well as mutual toleration and respect for the brighter aspects of the culture and religion of our fellow countrymen.

References

1 2 *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, by Zia-ud-din Barni, p 359

3 *Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara* by Daulat Shah Samarqandi, p 238.

4 *Shir-ul-Ajam* by Maulana Shibli Nomani, Vol II, p 132, 133.

5. *A History of Persian Literature*, Vol II, p 106, 108 by E G Browne.

6 *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, by Dr A W. Mirza, p 140

7 *Amir Khusrau* by Dr Tara Chand published by Khusrau Academy, Delhi.

8 *Life of Amir Khusrau* by Prof M Habeeb, p 2 published by Khusrau Academy, Delhi

9 *Ghurratu'l-Kamal, Dibacha*, Mss, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh.

10 *Tarikh-i-Firushtah*, Vol II, p 402.

11. Extract of this letter has been taken from *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* by Dr A W Mirza, p 51

12 *Wasat-ul-Hayat*, Aligarh edition, p 105

حش بیروں راند برعزم مصاف   راست کرده لشکرے چوں کوه قاف

13 Ibid, p 105

حشم تیری سواراں دلیر   لرزه می افگند در اندام سیر

14 Ibid, p. 70:

ہندوستاں راکے رسد از لشکر کافر زماں   از تیغ کافر سوز ما ہست آب اندر میاں

15 Ibid, p 161:

واقعه است این یا ملاکر آسماں آمد پدید   آفت ست این یا قیامت کز جہاں آمد پدید
راه در سیاه عالم داد سیل فتنه را   رخنه کا مسال در ہندوستاں آمد پدید

16 *Wasat-ul-Hayat*, Aligarh edition, p 106, 107 etc

17 *Wasat-ul-Hayat*, Aligarh edition, p 168:

حیف باشد مردماں در چشم وما از چشم دور   دیگیاں را چوں تواں دیدن بجائے دوستاں
دوستاں رفتند غیرے را چه گیرم در کنار   چوں کشم برقامت ہرکس قبائے دوستاں

برعزم سفر عناں کشادم   خونابه ز دیدگاں کشادم

18 با لشکر شاه کوچ بر کوچ   در گریه ہمی شدم بر کوچ

19 Letter addressed to Tajuddin Zahid, quoted in *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* by Dr A W Mirza, p 72

20 *Qiranu's-Sadain*, p 222, Aligarh edition *Ghurratu'l-Kamal Dibacha*

21 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of* 1860, quoted in *History of India* by Sir H Elliot, Vol III, p 524

22 *Qiranu's-Sadain* p 25

حضرت دہلی کنف دیں و داد   جنت عدن است که آباد باد

23. Ibid, p 29:

ہست چو ذات ارم اندر صفات   حرسها الله عن الحادثات

24 Ibid, p. 29:

گر شنود قصه این بوستاں   مکه شود طائف ہندوستاں
شہر نبی را بسر او قسم   شہر جدا گشته زمینش اصم

25 Ibıd, p 29·

قبه اسلام شده درجهان   بسته اوصه هفت آسمان

26 Ibıd, p 29·

گوشه سرها به ستیغ شگرف   گشته بصنعت زرے صرف صرف

27 *Qıranu's-Sadaın* p 33· مردم او جمله فرشته سرشت   خوش دل و خوش خوی چو اهل بهشت

28 Ibıd, p. 33-34.

29 Ibıd, p. 36·

خورشید پرست شد مسلمان   زیں ہندوگان شوخ و ساده

گردند مراحراب و سرمست   این مغبچگان خاک زاده

هرکه درین ملک دمے آب خورد   گشت دل از آب خراسانش سرد

30 Ibıd, p 34 گل همه ساله به چمن خوش نسیم   خاک ز گلها شده پر زر و سیم

31 Ibıd, p 34 میوه ز هندو ز خراسان بسے   وانچه نخورده بخراسان کسے

32 Ibıd, p 109

33 Ibıd, p 30, 31.

34 *Qıranu's-Sadaın,* p 32-33

35 *Khazaın-ul-Futuh,* Persıan text, p 34, Englısh translatıon by Prof M Habıb, p 20

36 *Qıranu's-Sadaın,* pp 54-56

37 *Qıranu's-Sadaın* pp 73-83

38 *Qıranu's-Sadaın,* p 132·

جامه هندی که نداند نام   کز تنکی تن بنماید تمام

مانده به پیچیده به ماه نهان   مار کتانیست بپوشد جهان،

39 *Qıranu's-Sadaın,* pp 183-85

40 *Ghurratu'l-Kamal, Dıbacha*

41 *Mıftahul-Futuh,* pp 35-36

42 *Dewal Ranı Khızr Khan,* Alıgarh edıtıon p 41-42

غلط کردم گر از دانش زنی دم   نه لفظ هندویست از پارسی کم

سخن تازی که میر هر زبانست   که بر جمله زبانها کامرانست

43 Ibid, p 41-43
44 Ibid, p 42-43
45 Ibid, p 126-133

46 Ibid, p 129

بہ تری آب را درکوزہ کردہ   لطافت آب ارو درلورہ کردہ

47 Ibid, p 130

ارس سوسیل پیشانی کشادہ   بہ یک گل ہفت گل برہم نہادہ

48 Ibid, p 130

وزاں سو دلربائے عاشقاں جائے   ہمہ س مہر دہا راستہ حائے

49 Ibid, p 130

بولیش حلہ خوباں معطر   دو سالہ حشک لولیش ہم چناں تر
ہرآن جامہ کہ اروے بوگرفتہ   دریدہ جامہ و بولیش برفتہ

50 Ibid, p 130

دگر آں رائے چنبیہ ساہ گلہا   کہ بویش مشکبار آمد چو ملہا
چو معشوق سمن سیما بپرورد   ولے رنگش چو روئے عاشقاں زرد
بہ ردعش پرورندش ہر سر ہا   کہ سرا ز مشک برگرد انتزا

51 Ibid, p 132

بہ ہیئت چیست دیگرش خرد و مار نک   بہر حبیب و دلہا بیک نزدیک
بہ سوئیس لسکہ لہا گشتہ مائل   ستدہ درگردں خوباں حمائل

52 Ibid, p 132

دگر دو مہ کہ آں ریحاں بہ دست   رتر بولیش درجود لپسند است

53 Ibid, p 133

دگر بر سہ کہ چوں روحست لوئی   معطر گردد از یک دانہ گوئی

بہ عشق بوئی او جان دادہ رنجور   نگشتہ بعد مردن نیز ازو دور

54 Ibid, p 133 حوبانش عاشق وار حویان   کہ معشوقیست بر حو برو بال

55 *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan, pp* 133-134
56 *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan, pp* 154-169
57. Ibid, p 195-196

58 *Nuh-Sipihr*, Bombay edition, p 148-149·

ملک گفت هرچه ازین کشور آید   ازان حمله هندوستان برتر آمد

59 Ibid·

حکمت و دانائی و علم و هنر   وانچه که در هند معاینست دگر

آنست یکے کیں زمین از دور زمن   هست مرا مولد و ماوی و وطن

60 Ibid, p 95· دین ز رسول آمده کای زمره دین   حب وطن هست ز ایمان بیقین

61 Ibid, p 151-157

62 *Nuh-Sipihr*, p 158-161

63 *Qiranu's-Sadain*, p 94

64 *Nuh-Sipihr*, p 161-163

65 *Nuh-Sipihr*, p 164

66 *Nuh-Sipihr*, p 164-166

67 Ibid, p 166-172

68 Ibid, p 178-181

69. ترک هندوستانیم من هندوی گویم جواب   شکر مصری ندارم کز عرب گویم سخن

70. چو من طوطی هندم ار راست پرسی   ز من هندوی پرس تا نغز گویم

71 *Nuh-Sipihr*, pp 181-191

72 Ibid, pp 191-194

73. Ibid, p 194-195

74 Ibid, p 191-194

75. *Nuh-Sipihr*, p 258-265

76. *Nihayatul-Kamal*, Qaisarya Press edition, p. 50-52

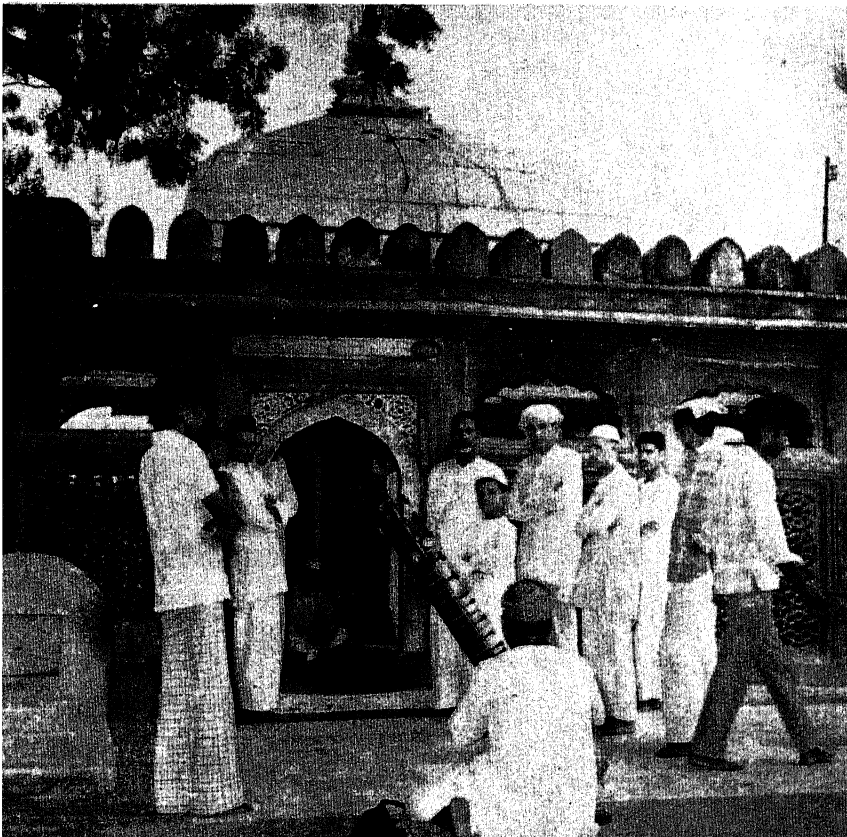
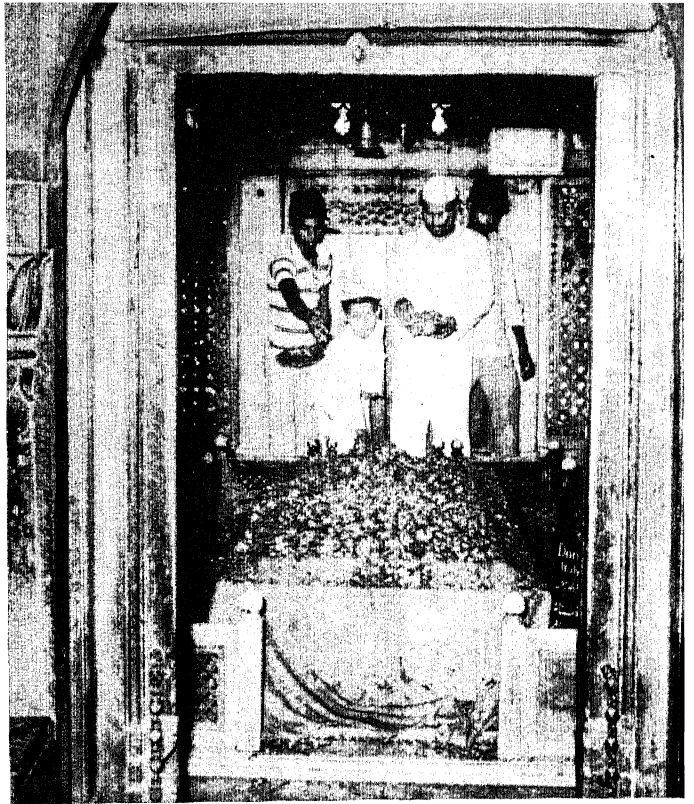
77 Ibid, p 52

78 *Rag Darpan* by Faqirullah Ms preserved in Shibli Academy Library, Azamgarh.

79 *Badshah Namah*, Vol II, p 5-6.

80 *Mirat-ul-Khiyal*, by Sher Khan Lodhi, p 442-443, *Rag Darpan* Ms

81 For further details vide my book *Hindustan Ke Musalmanon Ke Abad Ke Tamadduni Jalway*, p 526-531

The grave of Amir Khusrau in Delhi.

The tomb of Amir Khusrau in Delhi.

Khusrau's Works As Sources of Social History

S. H. ASKARI

Some works of Amir Khusrau like *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, which is in prose, and 5 out of 10 masnavis, namely *Qiranu's Sadain*, *Miftah-ul-Futuh* or *Tarikh-i-Alai*, *Nuh-Sipihr*, and *Tughlaqnama* have been included among the many different types and classes of historical literature. His *Kulliat*, the 4 diwans and the *Khamsa Masnavis*, and specially his stupendous epistolary and rhetorical work, *Risail-ul-Ijaz* are purely literary works and *Afzal-ul-Fawaed*, contains the table talks of his spiritual guide, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya but these are also not absolutely devoid of suggestive references and allusions of some historical and cultural interests.

Scant attention has been given to *Risai'l* which though verbose and full of verbal gymnastics and literary acrobatics bear some genuine documents and have a wide range and variety of details bearing on law and exegis, grammar, lexicography, tradition, morality etc., and also many things of historical value concerning social psychologoy, life and conditions of the period. It may, however, be argued that the work is diverting rather than authoritative since it is often difficult to distinguish between the fictitious and the imaginary and the actual; the historian would naturally like to have concrete facts.

Judged by the modern ideas on history as an objective study, Amir Khusrau may not be taken seriously by historical specialists. History with him was contemporary history. He had little or no spell of the past, and he was largely concerned with the experiences and observations of his own generation. Of course being highly connected, deeply learned, moving freely in all circles, not only in the imperial metropolis but in the different parts of northern and peninsular India, this celebrated poet and prolific writer had excellent opportunities of seeing and judging things for himself. He never professed himself to be a historian but gloried in being essentially an Indian and called himself the "Parrot of India". He had no religious narrowness or social and even racial prejudices

and was above his age in taking detached view about men, alien and indegenous, high and low, rich and poor, nobles and labourers But he had his limitations and unevenness as a writer of books of historical value for in marshalling his material and supplying factual information he becomes rhetorical with the result that sober facts are very often lost in his literary devices and mazes of words and expressions

Whatever may be said about the political factors, dealt with, and there may, here and there, be some omissions, but not distortions or misrepresentations, but there is no lack of candour and impartiality in what he says, more in allusions than straight to the point, about things of social and cultural import In places he shows himself sardonically human, distributing judicious criticisms, and also mild or unstinted praise with a fairly even hand We may refer here to the third chapter of his book, *Nuh-Sipihr*, revealing the partriotic fervour of the first great national poet of Muslim India It is thrilling to read the following :

> *"Hindu-i-Dahqan ba Kuhan Chadaragi-Shab ba Charagah buwad ba Kharagi, Bar lab-i-Ju Ze ab-i Khumuk Barhamanah Ghusl Kunand Akhiri-i-Shab Ghota Zanan-Khud Gah-e-Garma na buwad Shan Ghami-i-Khaz-Saya-i-Shakh bas o az kulba Do Gaz"*—And yet *"Barhamane hast ke dar Ilm-o-Khirad-Daftar-i-Qanun-i-Aristu to darad"*

The ill-clad Hindu rustic or peasant who passes his night with his horses under the azure sky, and the Brahmin who takes his ceremonial bath in the cold water of the stream in the latter part of the night and who is content with a cell or a closet, even the shade of a tree, in all seasons should not be looked down upon The Brahmin is such an embodiment of wisdom and learning that he can easily tear to pieces all the records and books of Aristotle.

His observations on many aspects of every day life, though scattered and found in bits and pieces, may be assembled into an orderly picture, and are, therefore, well worth consideration

Amir Khusrau's oriental pattern of rhetorical history and his literary works reflect the spirit of the times and the tendencies at work, specially among the Muslims of his days, and this also is not devoid of some significance for those interested in social and cultural history What emerges after a careful sifting of the

verbose contents and the ornate and occasionally over-dramatised picture of life and conditions from birth to death, about food and drink, cloths and costumes, manners and customs, festivities and festivals, social behaviour, family life, arts and crafts, games and music, hunting execursion, agriculture, irrigation, pastime and amusements, virtues and vices of society etc may be taken as a fairly understandable delineation of what had existed or had been seen or thought about by our author Those who have read Amir Khusrau's works in the original will not question the considered view of late lamented Dr Ashraf that he was "pre-eminently a historian of contemporary social life" (*Life and Conditions in Medieval India*)

To reconstruct life lived and to form a consolidated picture of society as it existed in such a distant age from isolated and disjointed fragments and incidental allusions to contemporary men and events, scattered in books composed in high flown language and style, is neither easy nor a satisfactory task It is difficult to get a full and vivid picture of contemporary life But one need not be unduly skeptical about all that he says, specially what he writes in the *Risai'l*, about a variety of people such as the turbaned Ulemas, saintly and imposter Sufi mystics, quarrelling jurists, the Syeds with double locks of hair, slaves of both sexes and of different extractions, with characteristic names, artisans, and various functional groups, corrupt officials, dishonest merchants, shop-keepers (baqqal, or bazarganan) carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, money changers (sarraf), oil pressers (raughangran), black marketeers, hoarders (muhtakiran), singers, dancers (pa-koban) courtesans (tawaif, ruspiyan), mimics, acrobats, jugglers, conjurors (mushabbid, bazigar, gadan ghazian, rasan bazan), (rope dancer), maqamiran (gamblers), but in all his works except *Nuh-Sipihr*, it is Muslim rather than Hindu society, more of the urban areas than of the countryside, which arrested his attention most There are only a few Hindu names in the *Risai'l* such as Saunpal Zargar (jeweller), Nepal Khuta (tax-gatherer), Narayan Raughangaghar (oilman), Deo Chand, Debir-i-Mudabbir (ingenious writer or secretary), as compared with a plethora of Muslim names of Jolaha (weavers), Tanindah (spinner), Bazzaz (cloth merchant), Challa Faroshan (grain merchants), Khaiyyat and Darzi (tailor), Ahangar (ironsmith), Zirahgar (armour maker), Kamangar (bow-maker), Ruingar (metal worker), Muzayyan or Hajjam (barber), Zarkoban (gold beaters), etc Of course, the

majority of unnamed Muzarian (cultivators), Dihqanan (rustic agriculturists), Qasbatiyan (villagers or townsmen), Sangtarashan (stone-cutters) were Hindus and Mahigiran (fishermen) and Margiran (snake catchers) have been definitely described as Hindus Some of them were good and lived by their honest and industrious labour, while others were definitely bad and dishonest A learned man and a mystic sufi himself, the Amir did not spare the greedy hypocrites among them and he considered the laity to be a "hundred times better than the priestly class " He writes in *Matla-ul-Anwar* (Chapter VI)

> "*Hast Base Sufi-i-Pashmina posh-kas na rasad bang-i-Muezzin ba gosh In hama Shaikhan-i-Khaza in parast-Barhamanand but-i-e Zarrin ba dast*

On the other hand, about low class wage earners he writes appreciatively that they pour the sweat of their brow to earn their lawful food, they work with their hands, night and day, and go to the length of making holes, with their teeth, in the leather to serve mankind He has very good words to say about the tailors and the cobblers who were more hard-working and straight forward in their dealings than others, specially goldsmiths The Amir writes frequently about the weavers who were simpletons but honest and industrious We are told how they worked, at what they worked, their tools and apparatus and the services they rendered to society.

The characters portrayed and the situations depicted appear to be mostly imaginary, fictitious and overdrawn, yet the portraiture and the descriptions comprising the illustrative selections here may be taken to represent some real personality, actualities and possibilities as seen and found at the time in society by the observant eyes of the acute writer Even the word-picture as drawn by the Amir and his pen-drawings are very often helpful and suggestive Literature is the imperishable voice of life and of the period that produces it, and is, indeed, the mirror of the soul of society It gives us a glimpse into the existing and actual social life of the time, and, therefore, there is much in it which forms a very interesting study of social evolution

It may be said that literary picture based on scanty and scattered references is not only incomplete, but is also sometimes misleading The motivating factor was not so much to paint a true picture of social elements, social organisation and institutions,

and cultural pattern and performances as to display the writer's literary skill and accomplishments and to cater to the tastes and the needs of the time The poets are generally in the habit of exaggerating things, and one should not expect their works to be marked by moderation and balance Amir Khusrau was not an exception He has gone to the absurd length in the later portions of the fifth *Risai'l* of his *Ijaz* in his highly obscene remarks, which cannot be put before the modern readers Social standards of beliefs and practices, manners and morals are not necessarily the same among the different people and at different times It is not safe to judge the past from the present But even this part about episodes and persons concerned, is not altogether worthless for unfortunately Barni and others support him in some respects

Though much that Amir Khusrau, who has been not unjustly styled as "the social historian" of the 13th century, has left to us in his numerous works, specially his masnavis and *Risal-ul-Ijaz* which is an interesting heritage as well as an example of the author's literary accomplishment, compels attention, we have to be very cautious and careful in clearing the grain from the husk There are difficulties, and much painstaking effort is needed to tap the sources still wrapped up in Persian garb We can confine ourselves in this short paper only to certain aspects and past conditions of society by way of examples, and draw the attention of the readers to what our author says about diet and drink, cloths and costumes, beliefs and practices, other than religious, and above all the various categories of people as to how they lived, thought and behaved, and what their good and bad points were

In Qiranu's-Sadain, while dealing with that which pertained to royalty and not to ordinary social life he writes about food and table manners of Sultan Kaiqubad After referring to the large (thousand) varieties of menus and dishes, sent in 9 tripod trays from the royal kitchen to the table, he writes about the nature and orders of the viands as follows ·

"Hundred of cups of sweet vegetable juice, tasteful and nourishing as the water of life, were first taken round, and placed before the companians whose liquor-saturated palates were thus washed off by Jullab (purge of water and sugar) By taking the lip-sticking sherbat (syrup) broken (languishing) spirits were reunited and set right After this course the turn came of the

dishes which were served on the table The Nan (bread) was carried round like the circular disc of the sun The nan-i-tunuk (thin fine bread like chapati) was so crystal clear that one's face could be seen through it I should describe it as the disc of the sun rather than a bread, it was worth if Jesus spread it on the table The nan-i-turi (of Turkish or Mongol variety) was puffed up like a dome because of the joy felt at being included among the royal dishes This was the season why kak (biscuit or dry bread), became surly and pale-faced The sambosa (a kind of small pastry of minced meat of a triangular form) became a delicacy because of the three elements constituted by it (Asar = Arad, Sarid, Raughan) The barra-i-biryan (fried or roasted kid) excelled the disc of the sun (refers to circular mutton chop) The tongue tasted the meat prepared out of the rib of the goat, it was placed at the top of the polaw (a dish composed of meat and rice, seasoned and cooked with butter, spices and honey It refers to gravy or abgosht or yakhni of biryani) The meat pieces cut out from the sides of skinned goat looked like so many crescents Strangely enough thirty first crescents (Ghurra) came out of the day of the new moon (Salakh skinned or flayed) The fat of the thick tail of dumba (a kind of sheep) weighed two *mans*, it was more delicious than that of ahu-barra (fawn) The head of the goat came intact with teeth exposed and excited the laughter from those sitting at the table (well-cooked but intact buz musallam like murgh musallam) The hilly dumba of which trayful of meat was brought had been reared and nourished for ten months till its two horns had come out on its head Hundreds of delicacies and all varieties of food cooked in the cauldron (deg) were placed on the table and people partook of them with great relish, using their lips and fingers. A large variety of birds, fowls, such as waji (quail), tihu (a bird smaller than a patridge), durraj (black patridge), charz (bustard, a bird of game whose flesh is tender and delicate) had been cooked in a variety of ways There were trayful of sugar-constituted halwa (a kind of sweet-meat made of flour, ghee and sugar) with a flavour and taste like that of the dishes of paradise There were tablets or cakes of sabuni (a mixture of almond, honey, sesame oil), which was as tasteful as sugar and as good and straight as an old whitish garment. Then, many kinds of fragrant perfumes were sprinkled on, or mixed up with the eatables. They were more fragrant than camphor and saffron. When their palates had part-taken of their shares of eating and

drinking and their hearts and soul had got nourishment from the delicious delicacies, a few topmen stood up and uncovered in the name of each one present, a tray of Fuqqa (a kind of drink made of water and barley and of dried grapes, something like beer) Its strong effervessence went to the body and unloosened hundreds of knots of life's thread When the provisions and the accessories were removed from the dinner table, the turn came for serving betel leaves among the men of the assembly"

This is followed by more than a dozen lines in praise of betel leaves Amir Khusrau has made frequent mention of Pan which was invariably offered to the guests, specially at the end of the dinner, in his various works This was the practice of his maternal grandfather, an Indian Muslim whose "rang-i-qirgun" (dark as pitch) glittering in sun's glare pleased the child Khusrau so much while he was perched on his shoulder The long discourse in Volume II of the *Risai'l* in which we find 42 virtues mentioned as against 43 demerits of betels and betel chewing, has already been published elsewhere The *Risai'l*, contains references to many articles of food such as Kabāb (meat cut in small pieces and roasted with onion and eggs and stuck on skewer), Zaliba-i-Nabat (IV 325 our Jalaibi), Sirka (vinegar), Jughrat (curds) (IV-51), Girda-i-Paneer (cake of cheese), Paludah (Paluda, a kind of flummery or Sweetmeat II-177-517), Murabba (I-169, a preserve or confection), Sikbat or Sikbati (I-612, a dish made of meat, wheat-flour and vinegar), Khushka (I-23 boiled rice), Shakkar Paich (I-196, a kind of sweetmeat made of rice or wheat and sugar, also paper to wrap with sugar in), Ruqaq (IV-325, thin cakes), Tutmaj (thin slices of pastry or vermicelli), Lauzina (a kind of sweetmeat in which almond is mixed up, also almond shaped confection IV-15) Sharabi-i-Asir, (grape-wine) and Sharab-i-Naishkar (wine manufactured out of sugarcane IV-53), Sikanjabin (1-23, lime-juice or other acid mixed with honey or sugar), Ghulahakkari (I-60, a kind of sweetmeat made of rose and sugar, something like Gulqand), a Qaisunqur (a kind of meat syrup of birds), Bughra (a kind of dish with dressed pastry or macaroni or a worm shaped white paste called vermicelli or *sewa'in* invented by King Bughra Khan) and Shulla (Pulao or dish made up of rice, spices, butter, flesh or fowl) have been also referred to in *Matla-ul-Anwar* (Chap. II).

"Mail ba Qaisunqur o bughra makun-Shulla-i-Tutamajit Ighra Makun"

Our author has told us much about the second most essential need of man, that is, cloths and apparels They were of various stuffs or texture, silken, cotton, woollen, linen, embroidered, painted and of gold work There are many references, in different places of his various works, to Khaz (coarse kind of silken cloth), Deba (brocade), Harir (silken cloth), Zarbaft (cloth of gold), Zardozi (embroidered cloth), Makhmal (velvet), Atlas (dull coloured satin-red, tending to be black), Mushajjar (a kind of figured silk brocade of painted silk cloth), Daq (a kind of costly stuff, also a course darewsh garment, painted and embroidered), Katan (a kind of linen cloth said to be rent by the exposure to the moonlight), Kirpas (a kind of long cotton cloth, also fine linen or muslin), Parnean (a kind of fine painted silk from China), Aksun (a rich black-coloured silken cloth worn by princess or boastful people, also a species of brocade) Amir Khusrau is very lavish in his praises of the cloths of Devagiri and Bihar, and Oudh, specially the first It is interesting to see what he says about Bihari or Rupak-i-Bihari and Devagiri cloth He writes under Jama-i-Devagiri in his diwan called *Nihayatul-Kamal* (page 52).

"How can I describe adequately the fine quality of the cloths Had it not been so, the hard-hearted planet (Mars) would have skinned the moon and brought it to the end of the month (what the poet means to say is that the Devagiri cloth is so fine and thin that if the moon is deprived of its skin and thinned, it would not be thinner than that) Even a hundred yards of such a fine cloth can be made to pass through the eye of the needle, and yet it is of such fine and strong texture that the point of the steel needle cannot pierce it without difficulty It may be said to compare favourably with the drops of water, as if the drops trickle down against nature from the streamlet of the sun. Elsewhere he says, "It is so transparent and light that it looks as if one is wearing no dress at all, but has only rubbed the body with pure water" The fine subtle Hindustic silken garment of which, if doubly folded ten yards are out of one, were drawn Owing to the extreme fineness ten (hundred) yards can easily be contained in the eyes which do not suffer in the least thereby Neither water nor oil nor the iron or pointed needle can pierce or penetrate through it like drops of water *Khazain-ul Futuh*

also refers to the varieties of cloth from 'Kirpas' to 'Harir' which cover the nakedness of body, from 'Bihari' to 'Gul-i-Baqli' which are used both in summer and winter, from 'shirt or under garments to Galim (blanket of goat's hair) which differ greatly in their hair, from 'Jaz' to 'Khaz' which are similarly engraved or painted, from Devagiri to Mahadeonagari which are allurement both to the body and the mind" (page 25)

The types and modes of dress have also been referred to Such were the large turbans (Dastar) and Ammama, worn by Ulemas and religious groups on the head over a close-fitted skull-cap called Kulah and, consequently, they were called Dastarbandan, Mutammiamah, and Kulahdaran In *Risai'l* we get that the big turban folded like a coiled serpent was made of such fine and light stuff that a hundred yards of this cloth could be wrapped round the head and yet the hair underneath was visible The other clothes they used were Pairahan, Qaba (sleeved close-fitting jacket or coat open in front), Aba (a kind of coat or cloak), Jubba (a species of upper coat, resembling a skirt), Rida (mantle), Saravil (a sort of drawer or trouser like Pae-Jama), Shalwar (baggy trouser), Lungi (narrow strip of cloth passed round the waist and thigh), Barani (a cloth for keeping off rains), Dotai (a kind of double cloth) The sufis and durveshes were clad in Khiroa-i-hazar-Mekhi (the mendicant's habit made of numerous patches), Kulah-i-Chihar Taranji or Chihar Taraki (four cornered cap), Kafsh (shoe, sandal or slipper), Nalain (a pair of shoes of a particular kind with wooden soles), Labaicha or Labada and Chadar as, also Moza; and sandals were of different types, we find mention being made of Kafsh-i-Yaky-Mehkhi and Seh-Mekhi (hooks), Kafsh-i-Zardozi (embroidered), and Kafshak-i-Hanni used by men of affluence) The garments of women consisted of Naqab (veil hanging over the face), Maqna (a veil worn over the head), Durrah'a (tunic, upper garment with buttons and loops), Pae-cha (drawer or trouser), Chadar (scarf), Qasb (women's headgear). Izar or Kishtak (drawer), Pairahan (loose or close-fitted shirt from the neck to the naval), Reshaha-i-Damani (women's skirt mounted with fringes), Sangchi-i-Zanan (sina posh or breast-belt), Gulband (neck cloth), Chirin Baf (a piece of cloth of delicate kind of texture) Izar and Fido were worn by both men and women They parted their hair just in the middle of the head *i e*, a track was made just in the centre of the head (*Rah-ha az farq-i-rast rast kard-and*) R I -1-21) They used also cosmetics like Ghaza, Gulguna,

Sandal, and many other perfumes They had Gulala (locks of hair hanging loose), Jaad (ringlets of curly locks) The male Syeds had also double Jaad and men used Masma (dye made of leaves of wood or indigo)

We get some interesting observations in *Risai'l* (IV-856) on different kinds of cloth "Jama-i-Yak-Shiqqadar Muina (The garments with fissures or crevices) which wards off a whole hill of snow, Yakta-i-Bahraman (red coloured upper garment without lining which is very delicate like water and covers the beautiful ones upto the neck), Yakta-i-Hari (silken) which on account of its brilliant glare and fineness resembles the rays of the sun, Yakta-i-Chambartari, which had the quality of covering the defects (of poverty and misery), but had a defect of its own in that its wearer remained naked inspite of putting it on, the Yakta-i-Parnan, a green, thin and delicate garment like the feather of the flies, the Devagiri garments, white and fine like the spider's web, Yakta-i-Awadhi which had become sugar-coloured and stained on account of moisture, the jama (garment) of the special wardrobe is harsher (more coarse) than mean-minded ones, which the slave, asked to use as a pae-taba, kicked off with his legs, Katan-i-Rusi, which general Aibak Tatar sent, was harsher than the temperament of the Russians and was narrower than the eyes of the people of Khata (China) The *Yaktayi-i-Narma Latif* resembling the skin of the snake had been set as a memento and in lieu of that the green Maqna like Jama-i-Chuk (like green scum or kayee) has been received The Dastar. as thin as water, Kulah-i-Chihar Taranji, the rose coloured Yaktai (Gulnari) a piece of long cloth (Katan) which on account of its being excessively cool is ever in tremor, and a piece of Jar Mauji and one Miyar-i-Ma'abari (turban or veil made in Ma'abar or Madura) from which water easily came out, and Yakta-i-Zabadi have also been referred to (I-177-8)

The *Risai'l* tells us about different kinds of people, good of bad. For example we are told about Kuzhawarzan-i-Miskin (poor cultivators) who take their pair of ploughs (Juftawanan) to the fields, and with pearl-like sweat trickling down from their fore-head break the dry or parched earth, irrigate it with their own hands; and when the seeds thrown inside the earth sprout and blossom up with grains, one into thousands, he plies his crescent like reaping sickle, gets the crops, say of Shali paddy, wheat or others, removes the grain from the straw; provides food for himself and

others, and keeps the grain stored in the granary of the Judgment Day The real benefactors will never allow their labours to go in vain In the same piece we are told about a Navisinda-i-Hindu (Hindu clerk or accountant) whose two-faced reed pen (Qalam-i-Juftawan-Kah) which being wielded to keep an account of produce (Hirz Challa) becomes as important as the corn itself for it splits under the disposition (affects the mental equilibrium) of the poor peasants just as the plough does in the case of the cultivated field, and his tongue serves the purpose of a sickle (badas) of the field which splits and removes everything that comes in the way (this shows that in making the entries of the produce the petty Hindu official acted dishonestly and he was so sharp-tongued as to summarily dispose of all complaints, just as the sickle removes all that comes in the way (R I IV 64-65)

The Amir's observations on the ways of the sots and drunkards, Rabis (usurers), Rashis (bribers), Zanis (adulterers) "who are alike in form and spirit" and also Muhtakiran (hoarders and profiteers) show that such vices were widely prevalent in his time Wine drinking, though strictly prohibited by Islam, had become a habit with the people, and even some men included in his religious groups had become addicted to it We are told of a drunkard Mu-ezzin who entered the magnificent mosque of Qazi Imran in a state of intoxication and the smell of liquor coming out of his mouth defiled the pillars and rafters of the mosque which had been made of sweet-scented sandal and aloe wood (R I IV-175) Some recluses joined the Sultan in secret drinking party and some Ulemas poured liquor in the same bosom in which the Quran was treasured" (*Matla-ul-Anwar*, Chap 11) Of the trinity of joy, wine, women and music, all of which form important themes in the *Risai'l*, the first and the third have been accorded separate sections (II-267-275 and 275-291) which is also the case with the following discourses on Nard and Shatranj (games of backgammon and chess (II-291-298) which are also noticed in *Khazain-ul-Futuh* (pp 42-43) In the "account of wine bibing the author who was himself a teetotaller gives an indirect hint to Alauddin's prohibition of the drinking and sale of wine" But by the vicissitudes of the revolving sky the big wine jars became small (were broken) the spiders had woven their webs on the doors and walls of the tavern . the fellow drunkards who were the flies of wine had dispersed and gone into retirement . . the minstrel, the cupbearers, Kabab, Nuql (desserts), the goblets,

jugs, jugglets, and flagons had disappeared (R II 270-71), *Khazain-ul-Futuh* also tells us how the roots of all iniquities, lust and adultery were cut off, wine the daughter of grape and the sister of sugar, was turned into vinegar, and the prostitutes with their locks at the lower part of their ears and addicted to adultery were chastised and became veiled This is followed by references to thieves, robbers, highway-robbers, night-prowlers, cut-purse, grave-diggers, shroud stealers, pick-pockets, who were held up from the banks of Sindh river to the sea-coasts (on the East) and were thoroughly chastised The blood-sucking necromancers, magicians and man-devouring witches (Kaftari), who speared their senseless teeth in the flesh of people's children and caused a stream of blood to flow were stoned to death after being buried upto the throat (Sangsar) Last in the list comes the heinous fraternity of incestuous miscreants (Ibahatian), who held secret nocturnal assemblies wherein a mother cohabited with her son, the aunt with her sister's son, the father with his daughter, the brother with the sister These libidinous wretches were tortured to death, the saw of iron being drawn over their heads (K F text, pp 18-21)

He also writes about "Sunnian-i-Pak-o-Saf (orthodox Charyari Muslims), Muatazilan and Rafizis (rationalists and Schismatics Muslims) At one place he writes "If in this age the Rafizis (Shia heretics) were to nominally claim their rights, the pure Sunnis ought to remind (warn) the rightful caliph on oath" (KF) He refers in derisive tone to the polluted 'Hinduān', the bearded and severely despotical Afghans (Afghanak-rishail and Ushtulum) who were vain and arrogant, the lion-nosed, dog-tongued, Tartar-lipped, thinly-bearded Mongols, the Tabbetans with narrow close eyelids, the dog-faced, cat-eyed Araxenian Chinese with frowning and wrinkled foreheads On the other hand, he mentions about a dozen types of Turks such as the moon-faced Aibaka, silver-bosomed and iron-bodied Qamash and Tamar, white-headed Aqwaish, the vigorous and manly Sunqur, the warlike intrepid Qilich, the loud-talking red-haired Sanjar, the pleasing open-handed Tangar, Qizil Arsatan, the red-lions, the incomprehensible Gorid, and also Kam Tughid and Ai-tughid (R I. 166)

Amir Khusrau gives us a peep into the "Dark corners" (Zawaya-i-Tarik) of people without provisions (Be-toshagan) which have neither fire in the day nor the light of the lamp in the night

(IV-114) and also into the thatched houses of the poor people (Muflisan) covered with thorns (Khasposh) which cannot prevent the leakage of pearl-like drops (of rains) nor the penetration of sun's rays and particles of dust through its holes (II-18) On the other hand, he takes us into the high roofed, two storied houses of the upper class people which had vaulted halls (Suffa-i-taq), pool of water (Hauz Khana), bath room or privy (Ab-Khana), library (Kitab-Khana), courtyard (Sahan) threshold (Dahliz), portico (Rawaq) with lofty pillars, painted walls and high doorways (V-57-61, V-87-89) In *Nuh Sipihr,* Amir Khusrau tells us about a poor helpless Hindu (Hindu-i-Miskin), who works himself to death, on account of the tyranny of the Khuta (Khurad Az Khuta Khun) He tells us about the drunkard Sufi (Sufi-i-Qallash), who goes into the tavern, and also the pious mystic of pure character (Sufi-i-ba-safa), who has become extremely popular due to his character

The *Nuh-Sipihr* again tells us of the Indian dancing girls, with their forehead decorated with sandals and jewels, the parting of their hair being filled with pearls and diamond pendants, wearing a nose ornament and clad in the Devagiri garment At the end of the fifth of the *Risala,* there is a satirical reference to some bad type of the women of the south One is the Didi Miskin of Devagiri who made her black face white by coming out of the flour mill to cast glamorous side glances on people, and the other was Uchhaldi, the mistress of a brothel, and a typical representative of Nayakans of India She and her followers always looked youthful amongst men, her ears were like water-drawing buckets hanging down in wells, and her lips were like raised sides of a drain On one side of her nose a pearl was suspended from the nostrial, while on the other the snot (neta) having frozen on account of cold breeze looked like a hanging pearl Her nose made her much too self-conscious

Birth of a male child was welcomed with festivities and presents (V-251) Father or guardian arranged the marriage of their sons and daughters, and sometimes the hands of a grown-up girl were asked for direct by the suitors (V-215). Rich presents were offered by friends and relations to the married couple (V-221-24), a professional people called Murda Khwan recited the Quranic suras specially of Yasin over the dying and the dead (IV-39-40) The public crier put his fingers in his ears while

calling the faithful to prayer (IV-81) Like the Hindu, a Muslim woman dying before her husband was decorated with vermilion paste being applied to her (gul-guna kunand) Festivals and festivities have also come in the picture Such were the occasions of Nauroz (new year's day, according to Persian calender on which the Sun enters Aries), the two Ids, Shab-barat (14th or night of the 15th of *Shaaban* involving nocturnal vigil, making of offerings and oblation to the departed souls, display of lamps and general illuminations, and fire works, played by children), Lailat-ul-qaar (27th of Ramzan, when the Quran is said to have descended from heaven), Lailat-ul-miraj (the night of prophet Muhammad's ascent to heaven) When Amir Khusrau invited his mystic friends to attend a Qawwali get-together, some thrown in a state of ecstacy, danced, that is rotated on their legs (pa-koftand) their hips being in motion ('Kachol juftaha shud'), while some clapped their hands (dast zidand), Ashura (the 10th of Muharram when the orthodox Sunnis kept whole day fast, applied collyrium to the eyes, and also read out from the book, Maqtal-i-Husain which dealt with the tragedy of Karbala On the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr, which marked the breaking of the Ramzan fasts, after the visibility of the moon Dasta-i-Nan, Halwa and Zaliba-i-nabat were sent out in big trays (tabaq) to the houses of friends and the vessel with rose-water (gulabdan) was in frequent use Id was announced by the beating of the drum nine times

There are references also to some common place but still current practices Water mixed up with milk was sold at the rate of milk (IV-259); goldsmiths, while pretending to purify gold use Suhaga (borax) and steal gold, the washerman who earns 100 dirhams every week, and who utters 'si, si' while he is at work, is found garbed in the clothes of other people (II-112), the tumbul attendants of poor means offer a few betels to the men of position and expect to be tipped (II-257); it does not behove one to take augury from sneezing which is due to cold (IV-86), they hang a black raven in a garden or on a newly-built house to avert fatal misfortunes and calamity of evil eyes (IV-87), among the congregation of people of griefs and lamentations they sing Hinduistic songs, while carrying the bier of an old person (II-250); in India there is a custom that workers of spells and magic practise incantations with the help of a cane and whosoever is struck with it becomes tractable and submissive (IV-161) The conjuror who swallows swords and daggers, etc (IV-261). Afsun (spells

and magic) and Chashmbandi (tricks that deceived the eyes) which the Gabrs (infidels) practised so as to draw a veil over peoples eyes have been referred to in the K F also (63-64) In his masnavi of *Laila Majnun* the Amir refers to the conjuration (Shubada) or sleight of hand of the dagger-swallowing man (Khanjar-asham) and one who inflicts wounds on his arms and sides for the sake of his belly (Bazu ze paye shikam kunad resh)

In his masnavi named *Aina-i-Sikandari* Amir Khusrau has referred to some of the typical customs and manners of the Hindus "out of sheer foolishness the common Hindus drink water out of hands of their palms in spite of the fact that they had a hundred earthern pots with them (p 32) From the red colour of the twilight the mountain peak looked like the forehead of the elephant which had been besmeared with vermillion When the snake charmer catches a snake, he nourishes such a bloody reptile with milk (53-54) When I slightly removed the veil from the side of the ear I caused the cap to fall down on the head and the head from the shoulder, (this refers to the new bride's Anchal affair when she moves a little the border or hem at the end of the veil She covered her rosy face under 'Maijar' (a cloth worn by women to preserve their headdress from being soiled by unquent or pomatum of their hair) and thus shaded closed the eyes of the evil wisher and prevented him from seeing her

Here are a few lines from *Ashiqa* about the conjurors and acrobats and their juggling or sleight of hands "They were so dexterous in their use of swords that they could split a hair into two halves like a young hero With the dagger, clean and pure as the wing or the feather of the flies, they cut the flying flies into two without making any boast of it The rope-dancer played on the top of the ropes just as the hearts are constrained by curling locks He was not only exhibiting his feat by twisting his body round the rope but was rather playing with the thread of his life With his dexterous hands he threw the ball high in the sky and with it went the galloping stead round the circular disc The conjuror swallowed the sword like water as if he was drinking water as a syrup He let the sharp poinard slip into his throat through his nose just as one takes water into his nostrils. The child warriors exhibited their feet by jumping to and fro on the running horses like flowers borne on the wings of the wind The masqueraders exhibited their skill in different ways By practising

a variety of strategems they sometimes showed themselves as fairies and sometimes as devils"

More interesting is the versified account of the spells and incantations found in *Nuh-Sipihr*. "Many wonderous things have appeared in this land the like of which has not been mentioned of any other country If I happen to describe most of them it would become as long as a tale, and, therefore, I am recounting only a few of them Firstly, within this area, the enchanters bring a dead man back to life by their magical charms This statement requires substantiation I am giving a hint to those who will seek it The person bitten by a snake who does not rise at the time is brought back to life after six months In order to learn the art one has to proceed to the East by way of water as swiftly as the lightning When he reaches the borders of Kamrup the master magician turns him into an animal The other thing is that the Brahmans treasure the powers of enchantment in their hearts and if they exercise their spell on a freshly killed person the latter becomes alive provided he has not been removed away If he is asked about the future events he may tell that if they are not terrified So long as his tongue remains intact he is capable of speech but when it is dissolved we should not expect any speech from him Another wonderful thing is that either by a true method or any pretexts and pretences they prolong the life which is not prone to decay This is achieved in this way that since the number of breaths of every man for each day is fixed by calculation, one who accustoms himself to the taking care or holding the breath prolongs his life when he takes less number of breaths each day The Yogi by practising restraints of breath within the idol temple remains alive for 200 or 300 years. Another strange thing is that by their artful regulation of nose breathings they predict events of the future. That is, if they stop and release their breath through their right and left nostrils, they give out same thing of the future The other thing is that they have developed the art of transferring their souls from their own bodies to those of others In the hilly regions of Kashmir there are many cave habitations of such people Another thing is that they knew the art of assuming the forms of wolf, dog and cat. Again by practising their art they remove the blood from one body and infuse it into that of another It is also a strange thing that both

old and young are quickly struck by their hypnotic charms Another strange thing is their claim that they can fly high in the air like birds, but this does not stand to reason Again by virtue of their charms they claim that they do not get drowned in the encircling whirlpool Even if you put them in a tight sack and throw it on the surface of the water they would swim across from one bank to another without being drowned Another strange thing is their claim to withhold and let go rains and moisture from the clouds. They have got such a collyrium that if a person desires and applies it to his eyes he can make himself invisible There are many such wonderous things which are reported about them, but which may be said to be beyond the capacity of everyone except the watchful protectors (spiritual men) of the time One who has seen all these things may not deny them, but those who have not seen them cannot believe all of them Though all these are charms and fancies, yet, there is something which may be taken to be really true and I would tell you that for your approval "

There are many appreciative verses of Amir Khusrau in *Nuh-Sipihr*, a command performance, about the fidelity of the Hindus, male and female, to the object of their love and devotion The dying of the Hindus for expressing their fidelity is a thing to be astonished at, their dying either by the stroke of the sword or burning in the cruel fire (*Hast Ajab Murdan-i-Hindu Ba Wafa Murdanash Az Tegh Wa Ze Atash ba Jafa*) The women burnt herself out of love for her husband and the man practised self destruction for his idol or for his lord and patron (*Zan Ze Paye, Mard Basa Zad Ba Hawas-Mard Ze Bahre But-o-Ya Munim-o-bas*) Although in Islam such things are not allowed, but see what great deeds these are (*Garche Dar Islam Rawa Nist Chunin-Laik Cho Bas Kari-i-Buzurg Ast be bin*) If such kind of acts had been allowed by the Shariyat, many virtuous people would have gladly sacrificed their lives for the sake of their love and devotion (*Gar ba Shariyat Bawad In Na'u Rawa-Jan Bedehand Ahl-i-Saadat ba Hawa*)

Amir Khusrau's conception of womanhood as a mother, daughter, and wife, and his ideas of the correct role of women in society, her interests and activities, deserve more than a passing notice He says that the mother is "the origin of the mercy of God", and "the paradise is under her feet" The rights accruing

from the pains of pregnancy and child birth she has undergone entails on her offsprings a load or burden the least particle whereof will suffice to weigh down the scale of the Judgment Day Even if a son offers 30 cities to her for carrying his burden and sucking him during the period of 30 months he cannot render her all her dues (*H Ijaz* II, 164, 325) The long sermons to his daughter and to "all the women" (Sair-i-Masturat) in *Hasht Bhisht* (38 verses) and *Matla-ul-Anwar* (109 verses) would lead one to think that the great poet was extremely orthodox and conservative in his attitude towards the fair sex In one of his verses he seems to lament the birth of his daughter, but he immediately offers his thanksgivings to God for the gift and says that his father had also a mother, the latter was also a daughter, Messiah was born without a father, but there was no case of any one being born without a mother (H B)

Addressing his seven years old daughter, Mastura, he says "although your brothers like you are of good stars (disposition) they are not better than you in my eyes (MA)" When you enter into wedlock and qualify yourself for occupying the Sedan I would wish you first to be chaste and continent and then wealthy My first counsel to you is that you should exert with assiduity in your devotion to God and remain under the arched place of worship like your eyes There is no better ornament for you than the rosary Seek good name and character through your own body by being chaste and abstemious, and be a friend of purity For a woman of bold conduct and deliberations needles and spindles are spears and arrows Even if you have enough of gold, don't feel ashamed of the spindle which is of iron It is not sagacious to give up the spinning wheel and needle, for these are the means of covering the body If you want to be at ease and free from all calamities, keep your face towards the wall and have your back at the doors The secluded ones are applauded and those who wander about in the streets are disgraced The woman who runs in the streets is not a woman but a bitch The swing (Bad Pech) and tambourine (Duff) which the women play upon are no better than pillories and ropes for them Songs and melodies appear at first to be simple affairs, but when carried to extremes they serve as virtual invitation to drunkenness Wash your face of the false cosmetics (Gulguna), and try to be honourable without the red colour (ghaza) on the face The real 'Jalwa' (meeting of the bride and bridegroom) is not that to look like a bedecked idol

or fairy before the husband, but to be bashful, modest and fearful and to be known and seen from behind the curtain mounted with the fringed of the veil.

Our author enjoins upon the wives to keep themselves within the limits of their homes and have watchful eyes on all the resources of their houses; have privacy with none except husband, even with brothers and nearest relations; remain engaged in their domestic duties rather than being busy with the combs and mirrors; treat the husband's face as the mirror; practise thrift, and make particles of gold and silver, earned by the husbands, into thousand; avoid being quarrelsome, harsh-tongued and short-tempered lest they might annoy the husbands, and drive away the domestic attendants; behave well towards the female servants; consider contentment as their ornaments, if the husbands be poor and without means of subsistance; in short to cultivate such moral excellences as to make him feel proud of being the father of a daughter, hoping to be remembered as such, through her, after his death (M.A.).

The Historian in Khusrau

ABDUL AZIZ 'AMEEQ' HANFEE

History is made conspicuous by its absence in ancient India. Its presence was for the first time felt when a new and entirely different type of culture knocked on the north-western gates in the early years of the 8th century.

The first ancient narrative of succeeding regimes is the Sanskrit work, *Rajatarangini* written in 1150 A.D. by Kalhana. This too is a provincial history—that of Kashmir. "Itihasa" is a term that has undergone many a change before assuming the present connotation that brings it closest to the sense of history. Originally the word was almost a synonym of "Puran", the former meaning "legends of the gods" and the latter meaning "legends of origin".[1] This complete absence of history leaves one wondering as to why our ancients were so indifferent to record their past. It will be unfair to expect from them an explanation for the lack of something of which they hardly had any idea. The reasons can be deduced from their basic attitudes and fundamental beliefs. Present, for them, was a consequence of the past, and, future, the fruit of what you sow in the present. They were preoccupied with thoughts and actions that might lead them to free their souls from "Kala-chakra", the life-and-death cycle *i.e.*, the cycle of Time. Therefore past was better forgotten The Vedas, the Puranas, the Kavyas, the Natakas and the biographies (Charitras or Charitas) have enormous store of source material for history but the problem of placing this mass in a chronological framework is made more complicated due to non-availability of political narratives. Even in this age of interpretative analysis of history the importance of "Dynastic chronology" is not undermined. "Dynastic chronology" and "Political narratives" provide its anatomy to history, however interpretative and analytical it may claim to be.[2]

The cultures that developed with Islam as their fundamental and central ideology attached great importance to history. Ziauddin Barni places History on an equal footing with Hadis. The 13th and 14th centuries can be called an 'Age of History' in

the history of Islamic culture Amir Khusrau (1253-1325 A D) was underscoring the charm of history on an aesthetic plane of poetry in the East while Ibn Khaldun (1333-1405 A D) was laying the foundation of philosophy of history and science of culture in the West Both of them did not lose sight of Man as of paramount importance Whether dove-tailed with poetry (as in Khusrau) or with philosophy (as in Ibn Khaldun), history remained a treasure of the past wisdom handed over to the present generation to help make its future beautiful, benefic and bright

The medieval concept of a historian is quite efficiently presented by Tabari in his *Tarikh*

"The knowledge of the events of past nations, and of the information about what is currently taking place, does not reach one who is not contemporary to, or does not observe such events except through the reports of historian and the transmission of transmitters These (historians, transmitters) should not use rational deductions and mental elucidations Now if there happens to be in this book a report that I have transmitted from some past authority to which the reader objects or which the hearer detests because he does not see how it could possibly be true or correct, let him know that this report did not orginiate with me, but came from some who transmitted it to me and all I did was to deliver it as it was delivered to me "[8]

Another light on the medieval view of history is from Amir Khusrau's illustrious contemporary, Khwaja Tashor 'Pir-bhai' and historian Ziauddin Barni (b 1285 A D) who thought of history as a discipline which made men wise as they learnt from the experience of the past He prescribed that a historian should be honest and truthful and if for one reason or the other he is unable to convey facts he should try to do so through suggestion and implication

Historiography in the middle ages was a pursuit which some people followed as a profession and others as an artistic expression Works like *Tajul Maathir* by Sadrulamin Muhammad Hasan Nizami Nishapuri covering the period between 587 AH to 626 AH (1191-1228 AD), *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* by Maulana Minhajuddin Usman Ibn Sirajuddin Al-Jozjani a general history of the Islamic world upto the fifteenth year of Nasiruddin Mahmud's reign, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* by Maulana Ziauddin Barni starting with the reign of Balban and ending with the first six years of Firuz

Shah's reign, *Futuhus Salatin* by Khwaja 'Abdullah Malik 'Isami beginning with the Yaminis of Ghazni and coming down to the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* by Shams-Siraj-Afif, a useful primary source for the political and cultural history of the long reign of Firuz Shah. Besides these there are many valuable *Malfuzat* and chronicles of some of the foremost Sufi saints of the period which have a lot of historical information and data that can help in the construction of the basic structure of a sociological study of the period. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad* by Hasan Ala Sajzi, *Siyaul Auliya* by Syed Mubarak Ali Kirmani, more famous as Amir Khurd and *Khair ul Majalis* by Hamid Qalander are unsurpassable works for any in-depth study of India under the Delhi Sultanate. It may not be out of place to mention the role of the Chishti-Nizami order of Sufism in the cultural experiment of the age. It may be noted that to this order belonged the large majority of historians and poets of that age like Amir Khusrau, Hasan Ala Sajzi, Ziauddin Barni, Amir Khurd etc.

Figures of speech, stock rhetorical expressions and the style of that age bother and confuse modern historians very much. Hammer Prugstall finds lessening of historicity in *Tajul Maathir* because of the excessive use of figurative language. Elliot considers Barni to be an unreliable narrator. Some historians find 'Isami's epic to be more poetic than historical. This criticism is no doubt correct to some extent but has more often been an excuse to cover the lethargy of these historians in mastering the knowledge of the styles of literary communication of that age and to do a bit of semantic analysis of these writings. Amir Khusrau, though the greatest poetic genius of his age, when takes up history as such, is able to keep restraint over the muse of poetry and does not sacrifice facts for fancy. It is obvious that the mediaeval historians understood their job as narrating and reporting of events that took place in the past or were taking place in their own time. Honest, factual, chronological reporting was looked upon as good history. Like the Aristotalians, these historians did not find a useful role for rational, scientific analysis in the field of history as its contents are mutable and ever-changing. It was left for Ibn-Khaldun to give a philosophical and scientific dimension to history—a dimension that "even Aristotle could not dream of."

Amir Khusrau was a poet—one of those few who could be categorised among "the total poets" Though he used "vernacular" expressions without inhibitions and had something of the folk-poet in his make-up, he was a true representative of the classical tradition of Persian poetry His poetic genius encompassed the totality of human existence in its natural as well as social setting His drawing deep inspiration from both Tasavvuf and Tarikh (Mysticism and History) amply suggests his involvement with the interior and the exterior of Man as a substance, and on both these planes his concern with truth pervades everything else Amir Khusrau's modern biographer, Dr M Wahid Mirza, throws light on the classical tradition in the East in these words

"The classical conception of a great poet in the East has been radically different from that in the West According to the principle universally accepted in Eastern countries, poetry is not only an art but also a science that its object is not to amuse and divert but also to educate and instruct, and so great oriental poets had to be thoroughly well-versed in the various sciences, or at least to have a passable knowledge of them "[4]

Amir Khusrau was a man of wide and varied interests and his inquisitive and probing nature hardly left any subject untouched His intimate experience from Khanqah (Monastery) to Durbar and from the rendezvous of poets to the battlefields sharpened and deepened his insight in the nature of man and things around "His life as a protege of his maternal grand-father, Imadul Mulk, who was one of the maliks of the Sultanate of Delhi and held important offices like Ard-i-Mamalik and Rawat-Ard Imadul Mulk's death in 671 AH (1272 AD) lifted the umbrella of protection of the family and Amir Khusrau started trying his luck outside the bounds of kinship His career from the 20th year of his age onwards can be summed up chronologically as under.

671 AH (1272 AD)—In the court of the chief chamberlain of the Sultanate, Alauddin Kishli Khan, commonly known by his nick-name Malik Jhujhu or Malik Chhajju

673 AH (1274 AD)—In the court of Prince Nasirud-din Bughra Khan at Samana

678 AH (1279 AD)—In the court of Prince Mohammad Sultan also known as Malik Qaan, at Multan

683 AH (1284 AD)—Martyrdom of Malik Qaan Association with Malik Amir Ali Sarjandar

687 AH (1288 AD)—In the royal court of Sultan Muizzud-din Kaiqubad

689 AH (1290 AD)—Court poet of Sultan Jalalud-din Firuz Khalji

695 AH (1295 AD)—Court poet of Sultan Alaud-din Mohammad Khalji

716 AH (1316 AD)—Court poet of Sultan Qutbud-din Mubarak Khalji

721 AH (1321 AD)—Court poet of Sultan Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq

725 AH (1324 AD)—Death

This chronology speaks volume not only of the variety of experience that Amir Khusrau might have had but also of the knack he might have developed in the art of courtiership that he could be an apple of the eye of mutual rivals and enemies His being a court poet of Sultan Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq and being the most beloved and the most loving disciple of Hazrat Nizamud-din Auliya at the same time proves the point His journeys through Awadh and Bihar upto Lakhnauti, through Haryana and the Punjab upto Multan and through Rajasthan upto Chitor offered him an opportunity to see the colourfulness and variety of the living patterns and culture of the country, the love of which sent him into a state of ecstasy in *Nuh-Sipihr*

So, Amir Khusrau was fully equipped with the knowledge, the experience, the narrative excellence and the ability to speak on unpalatable facts in concealed and suggestive manner, which a historian of the middle ages in India basically required In addition, he possessed the mystic insight and poetic fancy which helped him to bring home to his readers that facts were more often stranger than fiction This remark should in no way be construed to mean that in the treatment of historical themes Khusrau used his imagination rather loosely He always kept them apart and never used real and historical characters symbolically or allegorically along with fictitious ones, as Malik Mohammed Jayasi did in his *Padmavat*.

Amir Khusrau can be of great help to the students and scholars of the Sultanate period of Indian History in more than one way He was an eye-witness to the turbulent, ever-changing and uncertain political conditions as well as to the great historical experiment of the fusion of two opposing cultures, yielding to a new synthesis, particularly in the areas of arts and letters He lived almost for three quarters of a century and was personally associated with some of the important characters who played crucial roles in the drama of his times Ten Sultans, great and small, ascended the throne at Delhi during his life-time

Nasirud-din Mahmood	1246-1266 AD
Ghiyasud-din Balban	1266-1287 AD
Muzzudin Kaiqubad	1287-1290 AD
Jalalud-din Firuz Khalji	1290-1296 AD
Ruknud-din Ibrahim	1296- AD
Alaud-din Mohammad	1296-1316 AD
Shihabud-din Umar	1316- AD
Qutbud-din Mubarak	1316-1320 AD
Nasirud-din Khusrau	1320- AD
Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq	1320-1325 AD

The number could be increased by one as in fact Amir Khusrau breathed his last when Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq was the reigning monarch Amir Khusrau died on 18th of *Shawwal* 725 AH (1324 AD) while Muhammad bin Tughlaq had ascended the throne in *Rabiul Awwal* 725 AH (1324 AD) i e five months earlier

Amir Khusrau was a prolific writer, keen observer of details and a sensitive reporter There is little internal evidence to prove the legendary specialisation in many languages, arts and intellectual disciplines but his being an intelligent, perceptive and receptive generalist is beyond doubt His greatness as a poet is also unchallengeable. Historicity of the facts narrated by him is reliable and he is a dependable reporter Interests of his career as a courtier at times counselled him to gloss over the mistakes and high-handedness of a future patron and to maintain neutral silence over incidents like the murder of Jalalud-din Firuz Khalji and a few other incidents of the kind. Such errors of omission are ignorable and it goes in his favour that there are no errors of commission in his record It is gratifying to note that Amir Khusrau advised his own son not to follow his foot-steps as his life was almost wholly spent in weaving stories [5]

Later historians have drawn heavily upon him with and without acknowledgement Nizamuddin Ahmed, Firishta, Abdul Qadir Badayuni and others develop their narratives on the basis of his facts Dr K M Ashraf, Dr Yusuf Hussain Khan and Dr Tara Chand have found a lot of valuable material in his writings to formulate theories about the social conditions and cultural patterns of the medieval period

However, the fact remains that Amir Khusrau wrote history either for the fun of it or when commissioned History for him, as for most of the medieval historians, was a story to be told and not a process to be explained He does not, however, leave the parallel area of social life and cultural activities unnoticed and imparts into his writings a lot of sociological data like topographical details, flora and fauna, festivals, customs connected with birth, marriage and death, foods, drinks and dresses, arts and crafts, occupations and means of livelihood His keen sense of observation does not miss a beautiful face, may be of the earth or of a woman or a fair boy Even as a historian Amir Khusrau remains on the operational base of the principle of pleasure and pain

Those who are interested in the political history of the Delhi Sultanate can also rely on Amir Khusrau's deliberations He is not of any significant assistance as far as the Sultans preceding Kaiqubad are concerned The poet under the caption,

قلم رول بحست درشرح تیغ رول جمہور سلاطین

ماضیہ دہلی علی الخصوص دربیانِ آثارِ ذو الفقارِ محمد علاء الدین والدنیا

(I first narrate the military achievements of the past Sultans of Delhi, specially of the impressions left by the sword of Sultan Muhammad Alauddin wad Duniya) *DRK*—*pp* 46

in *Ashiqa* praises the military exploits of the Sultans from Muizzud-din Sam to Alaud-din Khalji His tribute to Sultana Raziyya deserves attention:

ازاں پس چوں بسر کم بود شاہاں　　بہ دختر گشت راے نیک راہاں

رضیہ دختر مرضیہ سیرت　　سریر آراست از جائے سریرت

مہے چند آفتابش بود در میغ — چو برق از پردہ میبرد پرتو تیغ

چو تیغ اندر نیام از کار میماند — فراواں فتنہ بیدار میماند

برید از صدمۂ ساحی نقابش — زپردہ روئے نمود آفتابش

چناں میراند رویہ بادہ سراں — کہ حامل میشدند از وے دلیراں

سہ سالی کش قوی مدبیر و مست — کسے برحرف او ننہاد انگشت

(People having right-mind counselled in favour of the daughter (of the Sultan) when no son was found (fit) for the throne For a few months her Sun (like face) remained hidden in the cloud (veil) only visible momentarily as the lightening illuminates the cloud As the sword in the scabbard is useless and encourages troubles to raise their heads (her observing purdah) disturbances increased The royal office and responsibilities of state forced her to leave the veil aside and come out in the open as the Sun comes out of the cloud As the lioness showed her majesty the brave submitted in obedience She ruled with a strong hand for three years and no accusing finger pointed towards her) *DRK*—pp 49

This is the portrait of a reigning-warrior-queen in a terribly masculine and male-dominated age which did not allow its women to unveil their faces, much less permitting the involvement of their persons" in such exclusively male pursuits like politics and war Amir Khusrau in the above couplets transcends the male-prejudices of his age and praises Raziyya's valour and intelligence without reservations

The pronunciation of the name of the Third Mamluk Sultan of Delhi was a hard nut to crack till somebody came across the correct, authentic pronunciation of the name in one of Amir Khusrau's couplets in *Ghurratu'l-Kamal*

جہاں بقوتِ او میگرفت اِلتُتمش — کہ برکشیدہ خدایش رقبضۂ قدرت

"Iltutmish conquered the world with his (Saifud-din's) help for he was a sword drawn by God from the scabbard of His Might" *WM*—pp 15

The name was differently spelt as Al-Tamash, Al-Tamish, Iyaltimish, Iltimish etc Amir Khusrau came to our rescue and

not only told us the correct spelling i e, Il-tutmish but also its meaning, "He has seized the World"

Dibachas of his diwans not only yield interesting autobiographical details but also some valuable information about the reigns of Balban and Kaiqubad

The Mongol menace wrecked the nerves of the Delhi Sultans till Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq's regime Amir Khusrau's personal experience of Mongol captivity and his being associated with Prince Muhammad Sultan at Multan for five years gave him an edge over contemporary historians in the description of the Mongol hordes and also of the measures against them Let us first have a feel of these 'Barbarians'

"There were more than a thousand Tatar infields and warriors of other tribes, riding on camels, great commanders in battle, all with steel-like bodies, clothed in cotton, with faces like fire, with caps of sheepskin, with their heads shorn Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel Their stick was more horrible than their colour Their faces were set on their bodies as they had no necks Their cheeks resembled soft leathern bottles, full of wrinkles and knots Their noses extended from cheek to check, and their mouths from cheek-bone to cheek-bone Their nostrils resembled rotten graves and from them the hair descended as far as the lips Their moustaches were of extravagant length They had but scanty beards about their chins Their chests, of a colour half black, half white, were so covered with lice, that they looked like sesame growing on bad soil Their whole body, indeed, was covered with these insects, and their skin as rough-grained as chagreen leather, fit only to be converted into shoes They devoured dogs and pigs with their nasty teeth " [6]

This malignant tone is constantly maintained by Amir Khusrau in the treatment of the Mongol theme Qasidas in praise of Prince Muhammad Sultan in *Tuhfat-us-Sighar*, *Wasat-ul-Hayat* and his marsia in *Ghurratu'l Kamal* are overclouded by the dark shadows of these barbarians Dibaches of *Wasat-ul-Hayat* and *Ghurratu'l Kamal* cast historical light on the names of their leaders and the strategy adopted by the Delhi Sultans and their wardens of marches to defend the Indian territories and to repel these calamitous hordes

Mongols came in wave after wave and devastated the northern territories of the Sultanate It was because of their

constant threat that Balban could not think of expanding his empire To quote Amir Khusrau

'Although each year the Mongols came from Khurasan in seriate ranks like storks, with owlish wings and ominous faces, at the time of their rout under the world-conquering sword of the Prince they are rent into morsels and then despatched to Kirman Fondly do the enemies yield up their ghosts wherever the Turks send the showers of their fatal arrows Each time when an army of the enemies surging like the sea arrives, a new splendour is imported to the dust of Multan'[7]

(The pun on the word Kirman is interesting as the word is the name of a famous township and is also the plural of *Kirm* (i e , worm))

Amir Khusrau mentions the Mongols in various qasidas and marsias in his diwans The qasidas of Prince Muhammad Sultan (23 in *Wasat-ul-Hayat* alone) and the elegies written after his martyrdom were very touching as well as historically valuable matter on the Mongols and Balban's forces The graphic description of the battles with the hordes of Timur and Arghun Khan, particularly the one which took the life of Prince Muhammad, is superb *Qiranu's Sadain* describes how they were routed by Kaiqubad's army They appear again in *Miftahul Futuh* under the command of a grandson of Halaku and are defeated by Jalalud-din Firuz Khalji Alauddin Khalji's campaigns against the Mongols under Ali Beg, Tartaq Targhi who plundered the Doab and Awadh are also very well described The Sultanate forces rushed under the Master of the horse, Malik Manik, a Hindu commander, and severely defeated the Mongols near Amroha on Dec 13, 1305 Next year, Kabak, Iqbal and Tai Bu led the Mongol hordes to avenge the death of Ali Beg and Tartaq Malik Kafur and Ghazi Malik Tughlaq met them on the bank of the Ravi and inflicted a crushing defeat At Nagaur also the Mongols fled after being attacked by Malik Kafur The last year of Mongol incursions in India was 1306 AD Amir Khusrau's account of the battles with Mongols in *Khazainul Futuh* and *'Ashiqa* is honest and he supplies us the exact dates which Barni and others do not have to offer. The Mongol problem thus finds full treatment in Amir Khusrau's works right from the days of Balban to their final rout in the reign of Alauddin Khalji A chronology of Mongol incursions

during Alauddin Khalji's reign can be sketched out on the basis of Amir Khusrau's statements

22nd *Rabi ul thani* 697 AH (1297 AD) Ulugh Khan defeats Mongols under Kadar

698 AH (1298 AD) Qutlugh Khwaja leads his Mongols up to the walls of the capital itself but was defeated by Zafar Khan Targhi returns Ali Beg Tartaq and Targhi invades Mongols defeated on 10th *Jumadi-ul-thani*

705 AH (1305 AD) Kabak marches across the Sindh Malik Kafur defeats him and brings the 'dog with a collar around his neck' to Delhi

706 AH (1306 AD) Iqbal and Tai Bu lead the hordes Malik Kafur and Ghazi Malik rout them completely

Ashiqa, Khazain-ul-Futuh and some portions of *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* are of great help to historians in finding out the extent and intensity of the Mongol menace and the stern military and economic measures adopted by Alaud-din Khalji to meet the challenge The thrilling description of how the Mongols were crushed can be enjoyed from the couplet:

ازان پس عزم شد سلطانِ دین را　　کشیدن از مغل صد ساله کین را

برآمد فتح از عونِ الهی　　که فارغ شد مغل از کینه خواهی

Another problem facing the Delhi Sultanate was to bring the far flung but rich areas of the Deccan under its sovereignty and to keep them as such The Deccan was always 'last to come and first to go'

As such study of this question is of utmost importance for students of political history of this period

It was during the last year of the reign of the first Khalji Sultan that his ambitious nephew and son-in-law, Alaud-din, independently decided to carry the arms of the Sultanate into the south and to bring the wealth from there. According to Amir Khusrau, he left the seat of his governorship, Kara, on the 19th of *Rabi-ul-Akhir* 695 AH[8] corresponding to the 26th of February 1296 AD He marched to Devagiri, defeated Singhana, son of Raja Ramchandra Yadava and returned with large booty to Kara on the 3rd of June 1296 It may be noted that the dates

and the name of the Devagiri Prince are all Amir Khusrau's contribution to our knowledge Descriptions of Devagiri as "the lofty city which in freshness and bounty was greater than the fort of Shaddad", in *Khazainul Futuh* and *Nihayat-ul-Kamal* are both beautiful and useful

The graphic details of the Deccan campaign may tempt one to conclude that Amir Khusrau was physically present in some of them But there are scholars who resist this temptation because Amir Khusrau does not openly say so and also because they believe that since he had access to all records and important nobles, the details could have been placed at his service by others However, the way these details have been described does not altogther rule out the possibility of Amir Khusrau's personal association

Besides *Miftahul Futuh* and *Khazainul Futuh,* Amir Khusrau's *Ashiqa* has a lot to say about the Deccan campaigns of Alaud-din's generals which were a logical offshoot of the Gujarat campaigns The descriptions of Ulugh Khan's victories in Gujarat and then in the Deccan (Devagiri-renamed Khizrabad) are pregnant with good historical material Gujarat was invaded twice, first with an eye on the booty and second time to annexe the territories of Anhilwada Barni has missed the second campaign about which we are told by Amir Khusrau only

Some doubts were raised by some historians about the historicity of *Ashiqa* Jagan Lal Gupta, who rejected the contents of this masnawi as fictitious, was made to undergo the test of historical criticism by Dr K R Qanungo in the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress in 1939 [9] Dr Qanungo rejected the arguments of Mr Gupta and smelt communal prejudices in his theory But his conclusions, though based on different grounds, suffer from identical deficiencies He concludes:

"So, the Devalrani story appears to have originated with Amir Khusrau who had no motive except that of creating a heroine for his epic . It belongs to the same class of works as *Yusuf Wa Zulaikha, Shirin Wa Farhad.* Wrong translation by Elliot and Dowson of some extracts have given rise to a wrong notion that Amir Khusrau was given a MS of this love epic composed by Khizr Khan at whose request the poet rendered it into Persian"

Dr Qanungo's worthy disciple Dr K L Srivastava however disagrees with him on the ground that (1) It is an absolutely contemporary work, (2) No mediaeval writer of note ever suspected the authenticity of the episode, and (3) An old man of sixtythree at the time of writing *Ashiqa*, Khusrau could not have been so imprudent as to popularise love scandals of the living members of the royal family Dr Srivastava's conclusion is·

"There is little that is impossible in the basic theme of the *Ashiqa* which stands the test of historical criticism and is substantially true "[10]

Before him, Dr Banarsi Prasad Saksena had taken up the issue in the 1943 session of the Indian History Congress at Aligarh His thesis stood on the following foundations

(1) There are references to numerous historical events and personalities in *Ashiqa*

(2) Ulugh Khan's campaigns around Multan against Qutlugh Khwaja, Targhi, Tartaq, Ali Beg, Iqbal Mand and Kabak are historically true

(3) Gujarat, Ranthambhor, Chitor, Mālwa and the Deccan campaigns cannot be denied

(4) The historical sequence of events is correct

(5) The object of the poet in selecting the theme does not seem to be otherwise

Dr Saksena's concluding remark is, "A poet who could write about India and things Indian in the following lines can hardly be accused of the devilish desire of traducing Karan i e, fallen prince "[11]

The controversy manifestly is unscientific and has little academic importance Dr Qanungo himself accepted in his paper that Amir Khusrau, who had been almost an eye-witness of what had happened at Ranthambhor and had outlived the Khalji dynasty, cannot be suspected of playing a foul game To place *Ashiqa* on par with pure romances like *Yusuf Wa Zalaikha* and *Shirin Wa Farhad* is also not a correct approach in view of the fact that the latter romances do not have a historical theme, characters or events. *Ashiqa* not only traces past history and narrates contemporary events but also authenticates some with dates Khusrau not only gives the day and date of the marriage of

Khızr Khan wıth the daughter of hıs maternal uncle, Alp Khan but versıfies the posıtıon of the stars on the occasıon Wednesday the 23rd of *Ramadan* 711 AH (1311 AD)·

کشادہ گویم ایں تاریخ الحد   بسالِ یازدہ از بعد ہفصد
بروز چارشنبہ مہ سہ و بست   ز روزہ خلق اندر بہتریں زیست

> The Moon ın Sagıtarius The Sun ın Aquarius, Venus in Pısces, Jupıter ın Arıes, Mars ın Taurus etc —*DRK*-pp 161

Sımılarly there ıs a couplet gıvıng the date of Alaud-dın Khalјı's death (7th of *Shawwal* 715 AH (1315 AD)·

زشوال آمدہ ہفتم بیاپے   مہ ہفصد سینچ بر سر وے

Wıth much of ınternal evıdence avaılable ın the masnawı ıtself, there ıs hardly any reason to doubt the hıstorıcıty of ıts theme Amır Khusrau named ıt as 'Deval Ranı Khızr Khan' but ıt got famous as *Ashıqa* in course of time

Back to the Deccan campaıgns of the Delhı Sultans as narrated by Amır Khusrau The two ıncursıons ın the deep south by Malık Naıb Kafur have been gıven a detaıled treatment ın *Khazaınul Futuh* and are now a common feature of any textbook of hıstory devotıng space to Alaud-dın Khalјı Amır Khusrau ıs the maın source for the dates of these campaıgns as for other ımportant events of the age

Nuh-Sıpıhr has the detaıls of Qutbud-dın Mubarak Shah's favourıte and General Khusrau Khan ın the Deccan The youthful Sultan had hımself marched upto Devagırı and renamed it Qutbabad, a change notıced by Amır Khusrau alone. The encounters of Khusrau Khan wıth the soldıers of Laddar Deo (Rudra Deva and Telang) are graphıcally narrated The treaty of Badrkot, sıgned by the vanquıshed Laddar Deo affixıng the seal of Laddar Mahadeo ·لدّر مہادیو کردہ مسجّل is also mentıoned by Amır Khusrau ın return of whıch the Chatr and other ınsignıa of royalty were given afresh by Khusrau Khan

The Malwa, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Bengal campaigns of varıous Sultans also find due place in Khusrau's writings. *Mıftahul Futuh* deals with the four successful military expeditions of Jalalud-dın Fıruz Khalјı during the first year of his reign

Khazainul Futuh enumerates the various reforms introduced by Alaud-din Khalji like prohibition, steps to check concentration of capital in the hands of a few traders and landlords, measures against making profit out of all reasonable limits and taking bribes, and establishment of Dar-ul-Adl or fair price market Amir Khusrau tells us of the various methods adopted by Alaud-din to ascertain personally how the orders and regulations were being faithfully obeyed and executed Alaud-din is reported to have taken stern measures against black-magic, sorcery and witch-craft also

The gruesome details of the murder of Khizr Khan and then of Qutbud-din Mubarak Shah are available in *Ashiqa* and *Tughlaq Namah* The latter masnavi is the only reliable and true history of the tragic end of the Khalji dynasty and the accession of Ghazi Malik Tughlaq as Sultan Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq *Tughlaq Namah* is the only contemporary chronicle that tells us that Hasan Khusrau Khan who was a Gujarati Parwar and was a favourite of Mubarak Shah, ascended the throne of his masters with the help of not only 'the low caste Hindus' (as Barni and others say) but also with the connivance of some high-bred Umara It is also evident that Khusrau Khan did not nurse the dream of occupying the throne when he and his companions murdered the last Khalji Sultan but the idea was sold to him by one of his accomplices after the Sultan was beheaded Amir Khusrau tells us how Nasirud-din (Hasan) Khusrau Khan got the five brothers of the late Sultan murdered in the harem before the eyes of their shrieking mothers *Tughlaq Namah* then proceeds to narrate how Prince Fakhrud-din Jauna Khan slipped from Delhi to join his father, of the letters by Ghazi Malik to Mughul Tai (Governor of Multan), to Muhammed Shah (Governor of Siwistan), to Bahram Abiya (Governor of Uchcha), to Amir Hoshang (Governor of Jalore-West Rajputana), to Ainul Mulk Multani (Wazir) and to the Governor of Samana; Ghazi Malik's quickest marches from Dipalpur to Delhi in two months, the battle with the usurper's army and the role of archers and spearmen, how Khan-i-Khanan Shaista Khan and Khizr Khan the commanders of Khusrau Khan's forces fled from the field after the fierce attack of Tughlaq's soldiers. The whole sequence of events upto the persuasion of the soldiers leading to Ghazi Malik's hesitant acceptance of the crown is very effectively built up in the masnavi. The capture of the usurper Khusrau Khan

and his execution gives the finale to the narrative The masnawi is an epic of the heroic deeds of Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq, with the tragedy of the family of the last Khalji Sultan providing it a starting point Amir Khusrau mentions that Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq ascended the throne on Saturday the 1st of *Shaban* 720 AH (September 8, 1320) while *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* puts it in 721 AH (1321 AD) and Barni accepts the former date Amir Khusrau gives the position of the stars at the moment of Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq's coronation, thus making an astronomical verification of the date easy He says that the rising sign was Sagitarius with Mars in it, the Sun and Mercury in Virgo in the tenth house and the Moon in Scorpio in the twelfth and so on

Architecture finds a place of pride in the writings of Amir Khusrau. This gives corroborative evidence so necessary to the study of history The description of the city of Delhi in *Qiranu's Sadain* dwells at length on the Jama Masjid and the Minar (which to the writer of these lines should be identified with Quwat-ul Islam and Qutb Minar as the masnawi was written in 688 AH (1289 AD) i e 27 years before Alaud-din's death, Kilokhari, Qasr-i-Nau and the fort and the city-wall *Khazain-ul-Futuh* describes the building of Jama Masjid and Ala-i-Minar and repairs of Hauz-i-Shamsi by Alaud-din Khalji The implication seems to be that Alaud-din added a chamber to Quwatul Islam Amir Khusrau's lofty praise for the stone-cutters and masons of Delhi is another example of patriotic sentiment which he gave vent to whenever an opportunity arose Jalalud-din Firuz Khalji's Kaushak-i-Sabz is praised by Amir Khusrau in his *Kulliyat* (as related by Dr M W Mirza *Life* ff 97) Descriptions of Multan, Devagiri, Dwarasamudra, Awadh and Bengal are also very picturesque The palace of the Rajah of Jhain is described well in *Miftahul Futuh* The beautiful description of the Tughlaqabad fort and palace there is found in an ode in the diwan *Nihayatul Kamal*.

Amir Khusrau refers to Indian music, its modes and instruments in so many of his works. This has led many to believe that he himself was a performing musician and a 'nayak' who not only sang and played so many instruments but experimented in evolving a synthesis of Iranian and Indian music. A study of his works reveals that all this belief was a part of the legend-making process and is not substantiated by any of his works. But a historian of Indian music can find many references in his

writings e g, the basic theories of Persian music, critical appreciation of Indian music and the instruments in use in those days Dr M Wahid Mirza is of the opinion "It is useless to enter here into the technical niceties of music or to try to establish the identity of all his inventions, but there is no doubt that the popular melodies, qaul and ghazal were first introduced into Indian music by Khusrau Qawwals all over India recognize him to be their master, even today"[12] The first volume of *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* has a chapter on the theory and forms of music The main musical instruments enumerated by him are Paikan, Ajab-rud, Duhal, Chang, Rabab, Daff, Shahnai, Tambur, Bablik, Dastak, Dastan, Bitara-i-Hindi, Qanun, Duhlak (Dholak ?) The names of some of the musicians of his age are interesting, e g Amir Kunjashk (literally, sparrow) Murghak (little bird) Mahmood Chuza (chicken), Muhammad Shah, Turmati Khatun, Khalifa Husaini Akhlaq Amir Khusrau sings the praise of Indian music in a proud vein as under.

حجت هست آنکه سرودِ خوشِ ما   کوست بسوزِ دل و جان آتشِ ما

هر همه دانسته که در جمله جهاں   نیست بریں گونه و این نیست نهاں

زانکه بس نغمه سرا از همه سو   آمد و آورد روش هائے نکو

آں همه زیجا نگرفتند بگاں   تیز دویدند درو تیز تگاں

ساخته هم گشت بر ایشاں قدری   زاید ازاں زاد بسازش هنری

لیک رسیده بحد هند درون   گرچه که سی سال و چهل ماند فزوں

زهرهٔ نبودش که یکی صوتِ سبک   گرم بگیرد ز چه از طبع خنک

حجت نه آنست که از نغمهٔ تر   تیر خورد آهوئ صحرا بجگر

رفت جو هندوش که او مانده رود   اینقدری گو بدش از مهر که رو

رو چو نیا روستند از بے خبری   ازپئ تیر آوردش رخمه گری

دوخته زمزمه بے تیر و کماں   جان دهد از زخمهٔ آں هم نزباں

ور تو نگوئی که تنز هم بطرب   ده رود از بانگ نوازش بطرب

در روشِ حدی اگر گوش نهی   گویمت آن فرق گر انصاف دهی
اشتر هشیار بتنگ راه برد   و آهوی ربیهش نرود تا نمرد

(The eighth argument in praise of India is our sweet music, the fire of which keeps the heart and soul ablaze This music attracts artists from far and near They rush to learn it But it is so difficult and delicate that even thirty to forty years' stay does not suffice for a foreigner to learn to produce even a light Indian tune The ninth argument is that Indian tunes can hypnotise the beautiful spotted deer so much so that it does not fear the arrow piercing its heart The Arab can only intoxicate the camel to follow his tune and go on and on but the Indian can hunt down the deer with the help of his music) *Nuh Sipihr*—pp 170-171

In these couplets one can discern sublime poetry emerging out of a mind which had found its roots in an adopted land and its culture This identification of the mind and soul with the country and its people is not common among the intellectuals of that age who are nostalgic and boastful about the lands they had left Amir Khusrau's appreciation and admiration for things Indian is not restricted to music alone The third *Sipihr* of *Nuh Sipihr* and portions of *Ashiqa, Shirin-o-Khusrau* and *Hasht Bihisht* sing the praises of the country, its land, its people, its cities, its artists and craftsmen, its seasons, its flora and fauna, its languages, its religious and philosophical attitudes, its sciences Amir Khusrau's love for mangoes, betel-leaves and musk-melons cannot conceal itself even in serious works He pointedly refers to India's contribution of "Zero" to the science of mathematics and is fully conscious of its significance He ascribes the perfection of the numericals to a Brahmin named Asa. Hence, the Arabic word Hind-sa, a compound of Hind and Asa Amir Khusrau regards Sanskrit as better language than Dari (Persian) though lesser in richness than Arabic He counts Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Kubri, Dhor-Samudri, Telangi, Gujari, Ma'bari, Gouri, Bengali, Awadhi and Hindui as the languages of India and is proud of a Hindui base of his style. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* places before a historian of language and literature accounts of the various styles It is interesting to note that even in the 13th and 14th

centuries the 'academics' were an object of ridicule by free intellectuals like Amir Khusrau He says that the style of teachers is 'like a slippery stone placed on the roadway by a clumsy workman—is avoided by the wise but causes many a fool to stumble'[13]

Amir Khusrau's real self finds expression in the journals named *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*. Here he is free and essays into any area of life and culture from sublime to ridiculous and high seriousness to wit, humour and satire The miser, the eunuch, the old dancers the clowns and the buffoons are all caricatured by him The fourth *risala* contains a proclamation issued by Alaud-din Muhammad Khalji when he ascended the throne in 1296 AD *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* needs to be studied in depth and its hard kernel of style and literal artifices broken to reach the reality of his writing on Indian music, logic and philosophy etc

The historical importance of the prose work *Khazainul Futuh* is greater than other works of Amir Khusrau as it is the only contemporary chronicle of Alaud-din Khalji's reign and narrates facts honestly

An interesting feature of Amir Khusrau's writings is that fragments of medieval Indian military science are scattered in them and offer an open invitation to and have an irresistible attraction for, military historians Elliot as well as Prof M Habib and Dr M Wahid Mirza invited attention of scholars to this aspect of *Khazainul Futuh* It is satisfying to note that Dr Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, professor and head of the department of History in Jadavpur University, took these hints seriously and wrote a paper on the art of war in medieval India on the basis of material available in *Khazainul Futuh, Qiranu's-Sadain, Ghurratu'l Kamal, Miftahul Futuh, Ashiqa, Nuh-Sipihr, Tughlaq Namah* and *Ijaz-Khusravi*[14] Dr. Sarkar's paper has the following scheme.

1 Triple bases of war
   (a) terrain (b) psychological (c) organisational
2 Military institutions
3 Armaments.
4 Men and beasts in the army
5 Fortifications
6 Siege-craft.
7 Strategic intelligence

8 Diplomatic personnel.
9 Strategy, tactics and logistics
10 Army on march and on the field
11 Laws of war and peace

The material arranged under the above captions is very enlightening It will be of interest if some of the facts given by Dr Sarkar are reproduced here Armaments used in these days, according to Amir Khusrau, were

(1) Bows and Arrows, (2) Swords—specially the Muhannad (the Indian Sword), (3) Spears, (4) Clubs or maces (Gurz or Amud), (5) Daggers, (6) Spades, (7) Fire weapons like Tir-i-Ateshin

Ranthambhor, Sivana, Chitor, Mandu, Devagiri, Warangal, Ma'bar etc , are the campaigns which are repeatedly quoted to complete the picture and *Khazainul Futuh* provides most of the information utilised by Dr Sarkar

Writing the details of military expeditions and adventures has been the choicest pre-occupation of the historians in the past Amir Khusrau's perception creditably sensed the beginning of a new era and he did feel the difference both in time and in space It is this new vision of history that distinguished him not only from his predecessors but also from most of the successors in the field of historiography His attitude to history is not that which the historians belonging to the orthodox classes of Ulema had He does not condemn the Hindus to hell simply because of their 'infidelity'. His verdict on them in *Nuh-Sipihr* is based on admiration and sympathy He emphasises the similitudes in beliefs more than the differences

معترف وحدت و هستی و قدم　　قدرت ایجاد همه بعد عدم
رازق هر پر هنر و بی هنرا　　عمر رو مان ده هر جانوری
خالق اعمال نه نیکی ابدی　　حکمت و حکمش ازل و ابدی
فاعل مختار و مجاری و عمل　　عالم هر کلی و جزوی ز ازل

The Hindus believe in the Unity and Un-createdness of God who has power to create from nothing He feeds all whether useful or useless He is the active principle of all acts, good or bad and his Wisdom and Command is eternal. He rules supreme over all actions and illusions and knows the whole and the part of everything right from the beginning *Nuh Sipihr*— p. 164

Amir Khusrau regards Hindus to be preferable to Dualists, to Christians who regard the Holy Ghost and the Son to be associated with God, to those who believe God as possessing human attributes, to Sabians who worship the seven stars, the materialists who regard the four elements as Gods and to those who believe in 'similars' of God It can be seen that Amir Khusrau does not consider idol-worshipping of the Hindus to be a hindrance in understanding He is all praise for the Hindu cities like Jhain, Devagiri, Dwarsamudra, Mandu, Ranthambhor, Warangal etc During the Deccan campaign of Malik Kafur the Raja of Devagiri opened the bazars to the Khalji forces and the relations between the Muslims and Hindus were very cordial "The Turk did not oppress the Hindu and the will of the Hindu was not opposed to the will of the Turk" [15] Amir Khusrau admires the faithfulness and devotion of a Hindu wife to her husband [16]

The professions and handicrafts of the period also draw Amir Khusrau's attention and the outlines of the economic conditions emerge from his writings The tiller of the soil, the stone-cutters, the masons, the horticulturists, the oil-makers, the sugar-cane-crushers, the brewers, the goldsmiths, the money lenders, Harir, Parnian, Zarbaft of Bengal, the cloth woven in Devagiri, the 'Iraqi' and 'Damishqi' paper, the book-sellers of Delhi, the white-sugar, the international trader etc appear in his writings along with the kings, the nobles, the soldiers and the writers An interesting thing to note is that not only the Hindu merchant class but a class of Muslim merchant community also carried the business of lending money and charged interest Amir Khusrau says that the rate of interest varied from 10 per cent to 20 per cent and the interest was being paid on a monthly basis [17]

The outdoor and indoor games, sports and other means of entertainments like chaugan, hunting with the help of hounds and falcons, chess, dance and music, nard, fireworks in celebrating festivals, rope-walking, swallowing of sword, inserting knife in the nostrils, 'bahurup', scattering of coins with the help of "Manjaniq" etc , are very picturesquely described by him The marriage ceremony of Prince Khizr Khan and celebrations on the birth of Mubarak Shah Khalji's son are worth witnessing in *Ashiqa and Nuh-Sipihr* respectively Royal festivities usually included decoration of the capital, raising of tents, pavilions and

canopies, wall-hangings with colourful paintings, buntings, spreading of silk carpets on the roads and lanes etc

Amir Khusrau's ethics of writing history is best illustrated by his remarks in his short masnavi, *Miftahul Futuh*

"When I began this poem and prepared my pen to write, I adorned it (with various artifices), for that is indispensable in writing verse, but when I thought of adding what was untrue, truth came and held my hand My mind also did not relish the idea of mixing lies with truths, for although false exaggerations may impart charm to a poem, truth is an admirable thing "[18]

It is this 'realistic' approach and moral obligation to tell the truth and nothing but truth, that makes Amir Khusrau more acceptable to historians of today than many of the historians proper of that age Amir Khusrau's meticulous treatment of facts and exactness of chronology and sequence makes him an invaluable source of contemporary history and culture

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16 *Qiranu's Sadain*, p 31

17 K M Ashraf, cited at 5 above, p 191

18. *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, by Dr M Wahid Mirza, p 177.

Khusrau—From Iranian Angle

ZIAUDDIN SAJJADI

Persian language found its way to the Indian sub-continent long ago. From the time of Ghaznavids however literary contact between India and Iran was gradually strengthened. The Indians evinced greater interest in learning Persian language and literature, and by the Mughal period there lived so many scholars, poets and writers of Persian that India was regarded as a land of Persian language.

But any talk of the advent and growth of Persian language and literature in India, and the close relationship that evolved between the two countries as a consequence of this, will be incomplete without a mention of Amir Khusrau, who was indeed the sheet-anchor of this phenomenon.

Amir Khusrau was the son of Saifuddin Mahmood and belonged to the Lachin tribe of the Turks. His father was the lord of his tribe in Kash (Turkistan).[1] Saifuddin fled to India during the turmoil resulting from the invasion of Changiz Khan, and probably settled at Patiali[2] (a town in Uttar Pradesh) where our poet Amir Khusrau was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.). As Khusrau passed the greater part of his life in Delhi, he is commonly called Dehlavi.

Some of the biographers[4] state that the actual name of Khusrau was Abul Hasan and his title Yaminuddin. He had two other brothers, Izzuddin Ali Shah and Husamuddin. Amir Khusrau was barely seven years old when his father passed away and he was entrusted to the care of his maternal grandfather, Imadul Mulk.

The story goes[5] that when Khusrau was born, his father wrapped the baby in a cloth and took him to a *majzub*, who after having a look at the infant made the prophecy that the baby would go much ahead of Khaqani. Another story says that when the young Khusrau was sent to school to learn calligraphy, he straightway started writing poetry. When his brother Izzuddin saw the talent of the young boy he suggested the poetical name

of Sultani to him Khusrau at first wrote under this poetic name and many of his ghazals included in the *Tuhfatus-Sighr* bear this *nom de plume*. Later on he changed it to Khusrau We do not exactly know what is the source of these stories but they indicate clearly that Khusrau was dedicated to poetry from his very boyhood He himself writes in the introduction to his diwan *Ghurratu'l-Kamal*, "At an age when children shed their teeth, I wrote poetry and my compositions rivalled gems "[6]

Khusrau pursued the general courses of his day till the age of twenty, acquiring a thorough knowledge of Arabic[7] and the necessary mental background for the composition of literary works His scholarship was perfect as is evident from the questions and answers of Khusrau Parviz with the sages occurring towards the end of his masnavi *Shirin wa Khusrau*[8]

In addition to Persian, Arabic and Turkish, Khusrau knew Hindi well Taqiuddin Auhadi states in *Arafat-ul-Ashiqin*[9] that Khusrau had written much poetry in Braj Bhasha (a dialect of Hindi) but nothing is extant of it He also had gained proficiency in music and had invented a number of notes of melodies According to Shibli Nomani,[10] Khusrau enoyed the title of Nayak (a perfect master of music), and knew Sanskrit We find reference to these achievements in his masnavi *Nuh-Sipihr*

With this poetic talent and comprehensive knowledge, combined with a mastery in prose, Khusrau at first found his way to the court of Ghiyasud-din Balban who ascended the Delhi throne in 664 A H (1265 A D) There he was patronised by Amir Kishli Khan alias Malik Chhajju, a cousin of the Sultan[11] Khusrau, as he states in *Ghurratu'l Kamal*, stayed under the patronage of this prince and sang his praises One of the well-known qasidas that Khusrau composed in praise of Chhajju begins with the following couplet.[12]

صبح چوں از سوی مشرق رونمود   صحن مینا روضہ مینو نمود

(When the morning dawned from the east, the sky looked like the garden of Paradise)

But the first king for whom Khusrau composed his qasidas is Muizzud-din Kaiqubad (686-689 A H), (1287-1290 AD) as is evident from the following couplet of *Nuh-Sipihr*:[13]

ز شاهان کسی کاو علم کرد یاد   معز الدنیا بود و شہ کیقباد

(Of the rulers who remembered me first, was King Muizzud-din Kaiqubad)

One of the qasidas composed in praise of this King begins as follows [14]

منت ایزد را که بر تخت سلطانی نشست   در دماغ مملکت باد سلیمانی نشست

(Thank God that the King has adorned the royal throne, and the air of empire has subsided in the mind of the country)

After Kaiqubad, Khusrau attached himself to Jalalud-din Firuz Shah Khalji (689-695 A H) (1290-1295 AD) and sang his praises The opening couplet of one of such qasidas is as follows [15]

سپیده دم که فلک جام زر بکیهان داد   نسیم غالیه در دامن گلستان داد

(At dawn when the heaven presented the gold cup to the world, and the royal garden was filled with fragrant breeze)

Khusrau saw the rise and fall of several kingdoms, in Delhi, yet he maintained his association with each successive monarch and tried to win his favour through his eulogies Thus we see that he sang the praises of Alauddin Khalji [16] (695-715 A H) (1295-1315 AD), Qutubud-din Mubarakshah (715-720 A H) (1315-1320 AD) and Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq (720-725 A H) (1320-1324 AD) These rulers, on their part, treated Khusrau with respect and consideration and favoured him off and on, with lavish rewards Alauddin Khalji gave him 100 tanka (gold coin) annually, and Khusrau, as a token of acknowledgement, recorded all the conquests of the king in a beautiful masnavi called *Khazain-ul-Futuh* [17] His another masnawi *Taj-ul-Futuh* commemorates the victories of Jalalud-din Firuzshah In 718 A H (1318 AD) our poet dedicated his masnawi *Nuh-Sipihr* to Qutubuddin Mubarakshah and received an elephant load of rupees [18]

Bughra Khan, son of Ghiyasud-din Balban and the ruler of Samana (in Panjab) always favoured the poet When Bughra Khan's war against his son Kaiqubad resulted in peace, Khusrau was very much relieved and he composed a qasida to commemorate the event·

زهی ملک خوش چون دو سلطان یکی شد   زهی عهد خوش چون دو پیمان یکی شد

(What a nice kingdom in which two Kings have become one, and what a nice treaty when no room for disagreement is left)

Bughra Khan was really pleased with the course that events had taken He asked Khusrau to write a full-length masnawi to commemorate the happy reunion of the father and the son Khusrau complied with his request and composed *Qiranu's-Sadain* in 688 A H (1289 AD) in six months [19]

Khusrau also came close to Malik Muhammad Khan, the elder son of Sultan Ghiyasud-din The Prince was a man of culture and learning He enjoyed reading of classical Persian works such as *Shahnama, Diwane-e-Anwari, Diwan-e-Khaqani* and *Khamsa-e-Nizami* in his assembly When the prince was sent to Multan as the governor of that province, he took Khusrau and Hasan Dehlavi along with him Multan in those days was threatened by the Mongol hordes Timur Khan, a Mongol general who was a noble of Arghun, the grandson of Hulagu, attacked Multan but he was bravely rebuked by Prince Muhammad and given a crushing defeat by the Delhi army. The Mongols fled away but after some time they mounted another attack In the second battle that the Prince fought against the Mongols, he was wounded by an arrow and he could not survive it His army was defeated and a number of nobles including Khusrau and Hasan Dehlavi were made captive They were taken to Balkh, and it was only after two years that they could manage their release and return to Delhi Both Khusrau and Hasan Dehlavi were shocked at what had happened Khusrau composed a pathetic *tarikhband* containing eleven stanzas It begins. [20]

واقعہ است این یا بلا از آسمان آمد پدید   آفت است این یا قیامت در جہان آمد پدید

(Is it an event or a heavenly calamity: is it a misery or the advent of the doom's day ?)

Hasan Dehlavi also expressed his shock and sorrow in a prose-piece included in his diwan [21]

It is said that when Khusrau returned to Delhi he recited his poem to the bereaved father, Ghiyasud-din Balban and we can very well imagine the plight of the old man.

Balban died in 686 A H (1287 AD) He was succeeded by Kaiqubad, his grandson The new king invited Khusrau to his court but a certain Nizamuddin, who was at the helm of affairs, created

some problem for our poet Dısgusted wıth the sıtuatıon, Khusrau preferred servıce wıth Khan Jahan wıth whom he went to Awadh and stayed there for two years Then he had to rush to Delhı because hıs mother had been taken serıously ıll [22] She, however, passed away ın 698 A H (1298 AD) The same year saw the demıse of Khusrau's brother, Husamuddın Khusrau was deeply grıeved at the double tragedy, as ıs evıdent from the elegy he wrote on thıs occasıon and ıncluded ın hıs masnawı *Laıla Maȷnun* Thereın he says [23]

زان جلہ منم یکی دریں سوز ار روزی حویتش مدیں روز

(One of them ıs myself, fallen to thıs wretched day due to bad luck)

کامسال دو نور ز اخترم رفت ھم مادر و ہم برادرم رفت

(Thıs year I lost two stars ın my sky Both my mother and brother have passed away)

The last kıng to be praısed by Khusrau was Ghıyasud-dın Tughlaq, who came to power after overthrowıng the Khalȷıs ın 720 A H (1320 AD) and ruled tıll 725 A H (1324 AD) [24] He favoured the poet wıth many rewards and Khusrau composed the ***Tughlaq Namah*** to commemorate his era Khusrau accompanıed Tughlaq to Bengal where he stayed for some tıme but when he heard the sad news of the death of Nızamuddın Aulıya, hıs spırıtual guıde, Khusrau rushed back to Delhı The death of the saınt was ındeed a terrıble blow to Khusrau who was now ın hıs seventıes He perpetually wore the mournıng dress and dedıcated hımself to the sacred memory of his revered master Sıx months later Khusrau hımself passed away ın *Zıqa'da*, 725 A H (1324 AD) and was laid to rest ın the precıncts of the grave of Nızamuddın Aulıya [25]

Shahab Mu'amma'ı composed a qıt'a which contaıns the followıng two chronograms at the death of Khusrau [26]

سند "عدیم المثل" یک تاریخ او دیگری شد "طوطی شکر مقال"

The same qıt'a ıs engraved at the tomb-stone of our poet

The year Khusrau passed away, Muhammad bin Tughlaq ascended the throne of Delhı Hıs rule lasted tıll 752 A H (1324 AD) A number of Persian bıographers [27] have confused hım wıth hıs father Ghıyasud-din Tughlaq

The spiritual guide of Khusrau, Nizamuddin Auliya, also called Sultan-ul-Mashaikh, belonged to Badaun, a town in U P His name was Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Ali Bukhari [23] He was a disciple of Shaikh-ul-Islam Fariduddin Ganjshakar He traced his initiative from Shaikh-ul-Islam Maudud bin Yusuf Chishti,[29] according to me, to Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti [30] It is said that the father of Khusrau brought the baby and placed him at the feet of Nizamuddin Auliya to seek his blessings It served as an impetus for the life-long attachment of Khusrau to Nizamuddin There he also enjoyed the company of his dear friend Hasan Dehlavi Khusrau, according to his own statement in *Afzal-ul-Fawad*,[31] was admitted to this fold in 713 A H (1313 AD) and was given the four-plaited cap which was characteristic of the followers of this order

When Khusrau attached himself to Nizamuddin Auliya, he renounced whatever he possessed of the wordly things The master was also deeply attached to our poet and addressed him as the Turk of God Nizamuddin often prayed "O God, forgive me for the sake of the fire of love burning in the heart of this Turk "[32]

Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak al-Alawi al-Kirmani writes in *Siyar-ul-Auliya* [33] "Sultan-ul-Mushaikh (Nizamuddin) composed the following two lines about Khusrau to whom he was so kind":

خسروکه نظم و نثر مثلش کم خاست ملکیت ملک سخن آن خسرو راست

(Khusrau who has had hardly a match in prose and poetry, is undoubtedly the lord of the realm of poetry)

آن خسرو ماست ناصر خسرو نیست زیراکه خدای ناصر خسرو ماست

(I speak of my Khusrau who enjoys the favours of God.)

Most of the compositions of Khusrau and particularly his masnawis are full of praise of Nizamuddin Auliya. For instance we come across the following couplets in the masnawi *Shirin wa Khusrau* · [34]

نظام الحق نبی را بازوی راست که چرخ ازرقش عطف مصلاست

(Nizamul Haq (Din) is the right hand of the Prophet; the blue sky is but a corner of his prayer carpet.)

دش گنجینهٔ تحقیق یزدان جبینش آفتاب صبح خیزان

> (His words scatter away the treasure of truth, and his countenence radiates like sun for those who pray at dawn.)

It is also stated[35] that Amir Khusrau was given the mystic name of Muhammad-e-Kasahlis (Muhammad, the bowl-licker) by Nizamuddin Auliya.

Khusrau had a son by the name of Malik Muhammad. The son like his father had an aptitude for poetry and was gifted with the faculty of critical appreciation.[36] Khusrau had also a daughter called Afifa. She was seven years old when our poet was composing the *Hasht Bihisht*. He has addressed a few couplets to her in this masnawi.[37]

This was Khusrau, a poet of good taste and sweet diction, a mystic, a scholar and a musician. He evolved his own style in poetry, yet he drew inspiration, as he admits himself, from the classical masters of Persian poetry. Thus he followed Sa'di in ghazal, Razi Neishapuri and Kamal Ismail in qasida and Nizami in masnawi. In the realm of philosophical and didactic poetry, Sana'i and Khaqani served as his models.

Khusrau, in the beginning studied systematically the poetry of Khaqani. He states in *Tuhfat-us-Sighr* that he found it difficult to comprehend and could not follow it successfully. But it seems that he did not give up and eventually he was able to compose some of his best qasidas after those of Khaqani. One of the qasidas opens with the couplet:[38]

دلم طفل است و پیر عشق استاد زبان دانش   سواد الوجه کج و مرحمت سبق دبستانش

Khusrau also calls his qasida *Mirat-us-Safa* (The Mirror of Purity) in the manner of Khaqani. The poem contained in *Ghurratu'l-Kamal* is pretty long, having 221 verses. Before the actual qasida starts it is preceded by the following couplet:[39]

سحر ارچه در شریعت احمد حرام شد   این سحر من شد از اثر نعت او حلال

> (Though magic is forbidden according to the law of Islam, yet by virtue of his *na't* my magic has become lawful.)

We know that Khaqani enjoyed the title of *Hassan-e-Ajam* (The Hassan of Persia). Khusrau refers to Khaqani in the following lines:

گر او بوده است حسان عجم پس جادوی هندم   که در یکدم رسانم باز با پیشینه حسانش

(If he (Khaqani) was the Hassan of Persia, I am the magic of India, and I can make him vanish in a moment like his predecessor)

سخن زانگونه گفتم من بدا امروز در دهلی   که از خواب اجل بیدار کردستم به شروانش

(Now in Delhi my poetry makes such an echo that Khaqani is awakened in Sharwan out of his death-slumber)

From another couplet of this qasida we learn that it was composed in 696 A H (1296 AD) when Khusrau was forty-five years old

بود رفت و شش و ششصد ز هجرت و چهل ز عمرم   شب یوم الحساب آمد بکردم کار حسابش

As stated earlier, Khusrau received his inspiration in ghazal from Sa'di He says

"جلد سخنم دارد شیرازهٔ شیرازی"

(The book of my poetry has been bound in the style of Shiraz)

The attachment of Khusrau to Sa'di was to such an extent that it has led his biographers, like Azari Tusi and others,[40] to maintain that Sa'di travelled all along to Delhi to see Khusrau Others[41] have called Khusrau the Sa'di of India, but this title is more often attached to Hasan Dehlavi However, since Amir Khusrau lived in India and had a deep knowledge of Indian thought and traditions, his poetry is endowed with a sort of delicacy in idea and diction,[42] and his ghazal is, in fact, the *avan-garde* of a style in Persian that was eventually characterised as Indian style, and which found so many admirers [43]

Amir Khusrau wrote qasida, ghazal and masnawi and in each of these forms of poetry his mastery is manifest His qasidas are well-knit and lofty, and his ghazals are charming and original In *Ghurratu'l-Kamal*, while speaking of his poetry, Khusrau refers to the novel similes that he had introduced in Persian poetry He says,[44] "There are many new similies but this book cannot contain all of them So I quote a few of them for instance "

The poetry of Amir Khusrau is embellished with numerous figures of speech such as *Qalb-ul-Lisanain*, *Wasl-ul-Harfain*, *Muhtamil-ul-Maani*, *etc* Shibli Nomani quotes verses of Khusrau which have the above figures Shibli also maintains that Khusrau, like Sa'di, had brought his language closer to the

colloquial, thus making his poetry all the more sweet and appealing In the art of ghazal Khusrau kept pace with Sa'di and introduced pleasing innovations into it [45] The diction of Amir Khusrau in ghazal, particularly short and rhythmic metres, makes his ghazals full of charm and lucidness, and in this regard Khusrau has come very close to Sa'di

Amir Khusrau knew Arabic very well He has quoted a few of his Arabic verses in his introduction to *Ghurrat'ul Kamal* In his another work *Ijaz-Khusravi* or *Rasail-ul-Ijaz* he has also reproduced some of his Arabic letters [46]

The Hindi verses of Khusrau, as stated earlier, are not extant However, his basic thought in his Persian poetry seems to be under the impact of Indian themes and similies [47] Hindi language was undoubtedly at the root of several poetic devices in the poetry of Khusrau For instance, he composed *Mulamma-i-e* a line in Persian supplemented by another in Hindi This novelty continued even after Khusrau and was given the name of *Rikhta* for the verses composed in half-Persian half-Hindi [48]

In introduction to *Ghurratu'l-Kamal*, Khusrau enumerates the virtues of Persian verse and establishes its superiority to Arabic poetry He also mentions the great poets of Iran and then classifies them into three categories, the prefect master, the semi-perfect master and the plagiarist Then he says that a perfect master must possess four pre-requisites Khusrau himself does not plagiarise and sermonise But he does not possess the other two qualities *i e*, he is not the inventor of a particular style in poetry and, secondly, his poetry is not free from flaw Thus Khusrau criticises his own poetry without any bias or prejudice [49]

The author of *Siyar-ul-Auliya* writes [50] that Amir Khusrau used to read his verses before Sultan-ul-Mashaikh (Nizamuddin) One day the latter said, "Write something in the Isphahnai note *i e*, something which generates love and which speaks of the beauty of the beloved From that day onwards Khusrau involved himself in the description of the Beloved's beauty till his description reached its zenith in his poetry "

Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami regards Khusrau as the founder of *Wuqu-qui* (description of love affairs) in his work

Khizana-e-Amirah[51] He quotes a few verses to illustrate his point and one of them is the following line

خوش آن زمان که برویش نظر نهفته کنم   چو سوی من نگرد او، نظر نگردانم

(What a sweet moment when I steal a look of her lovely face, but when our eyes meet I turn away my face)

Khusrau was a prolific poet and a powerful writer The number of his verses exceeds those of any other Persian poet, four to five hundred thousand verses stand to his credit [52] Shibli, however, interprets the above statement in a different way He says that the above number means half a line (مصراع) and not a full couplet (شعر). Zamiri of Isfahan,[53] a poet of the Safawid period, is also known for having composed hundreds of thousands of verses And it was on this account that he was compared with Amir Khusrau, and was called Khusrau, the second One day, in the assembly of King Tehmasp, the name of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi was mentioned The King pointed to Zamiri and said, "We also have a novel Khusrau in our court " [54]

Amir Khusrau's works [55] were composed in different periods of his life Below we give a short description of these works

His versified works [56] include his diwans and masnawis Khusrau compiled five diwans in the following order

1 *TUHFAT-US-SIGHR* containing the verses that he composed from the age of sixteen to twenty years

2 *WASAT-UL-HAYAT* it includes the verses which he sang between the age of twenty to thirty-four years This diwan contains many qasidas which Khusrau composed in praise of Khan-e-Shaheed

3 *GHURRATU'L-KAMAL* containing the poetry of Khusrau composed at the age of forty-three years It contains an introduction in which the poet gives an account of his life followed by a description of the ventures of Persian poetry and its superiority to Arabic poetry He also mentions the great poets of Iran in this introduction The diwan contains qasidas in praise of Muizzud-din Kaiqubad, Jalalud-din Firuzshah, and Nizamuddin Auliya.

4 *BAQIYYA-E-NAQIYYA* it contains the verses of Khusrau composed probably till the year 715 A H (1315 AD) This diwan also contains the elegy to which our poet wrote at the death of Alauddin Khalji

5 *NIHAYAT-UL-KAMAL* this diwan has some references to the events of the year 725 A H (1324 AD) and contains an elegy on the death of Qutbud-din Mubarak Shah

The first masnawi that Khusrau composed is called *Qiranu's-Sadain* It was completed in 688 A H (1289 AD) when Khusrau was 36 years old The masnawi as stated earlier relates to the affairs of Bughra Khan and his on Kaiqubad

Afterwards, Khusrau engaged himself in composing the Khamsa (five masnawis) after the model of Nizami Ganjavi Khusrau is the first Persian poet to set himself to this task after Nizami He states towards the end of *Majnun-wa-Laila*[57] that he was able to complete his Khamsa in spite of his heavy engagements in the court All the five masnawis were composed between the years 698-701 A H (1298-1301 AD) The first of these masnawis is entitled *Matla-ul-Anwar* composed after the model of *Makhzan-ul-Asrar* of Nizami It contains 3,310 couplets and was completed in 698 A H (1298 AD)

Shirin-wa-Khusrau was composed after the model of Khusrau in *Shirin* of Nizami The metre of both the masnawis is identical It begins with the following lines [58]

حداوندا دلم را چشم بکشای   به معراج یقینم راه بنمای

The poet, as usual, sings the praise of God and the Prophet followed by his tributes to Nizamuddin Auliya and Sultan Alauddin Khalji Khusrau knew very well that the story of Shirin and Khusrau had been completely exhausted by Nizami and nothing new was left for our poet to offer He says:[59]

فکندم مرغ همت را به پرواز   دل گم گشته را در دادم آواز

(I sent the bird of my high spirits to the sky and I summoned my heart (courage) that I had already lost.)

در درج جواهر باز کردم   ز دل بر لب نثار اندازکردم

(I opened the casket of precious gems, and I offered to my lips whatever I had in my heart)

نظامی چون سخن ناگفته نگذاشت — ز حوری گوهر ناسفته نگذاشت

چون باران شو به کم گوئی فسانه — مگو بسیار چون گنجشک خانه

(Nizami left nothing unsaid, his hands spared no pretty pearl unstrung)

O Khusrau, make yourself known for recitence like the eagle, and do not prattle much like a domestic sparrow)

Towards the end of the poem Khusrau records the date of its composition i e, *Rajab*, 698 A H (1298 AD).[60]

در آغاز رجب فرخ شد این حال — ز هجرت ششصد و هشت و نود سال

The third masnawi of Amir Khusrau, in the series of Khamsa, is *Majnun-wa-Laila* composed after the model and in the metre of *Laila Majnun* of Nizami This is the most beautiful of all the five masnawis of Khamsa and even the poet liked it more than his other masnawis It seems that the poet instead of recording the actual story has deviated to a sort of imaginary fiction It begins.[61]

ای داده به دل خریطه راز — عقل از تو شده خریطه پرداز

Towards the end of the masnawi the poet gives the date of its composition and the number of its verses[62]

تاریخ ز هجرت آنچه بگذشت — سالش نود و شش صد و هشت

(698 years have passed from the calendar of Hijrah)

بیتش بشمار راستی هست — جمله دو هزار و ششصد و شصت

(If you count the number of its verses it is exactly 2660).

Professor Ali Asghar Hikmat in his book *Romeo Juliet* and *Laila Majnun*[63] has analysed this masnawi and compares it with that of Nizami and calls it a new addition to the story of Laila and Majnun

The fourth masnawi of Khusrau is *Aina-e-Iskandri* composed after the model of *Sikandr Namah* of Nizami It contains 4450 couplets and was concluded in 999 A H. (1299 AD).[64]

The fifth masnawi of Khusrau is called *Hasht Bihisht*, a counterpart of the *Haft Paiker* of Nizami It was completed in 701 A H. (1301 AD)[65]

All the five masnawis of Khusrau contain 18000 couplets and they are all dedicated to Sultan Alauddin Khalji

Of other masnawis of Khusrau one is *Taj-ul-Futuh*[66] on the events of the first year of the reign of Sultan Jalaluddin Firuzshah Some biographers have called this masnawi *Miftah-ul-Futuh*[67]

Nuh-Sipihr, another masnawi of Khusrau was composed in 718 A H (1318 AD) in the name of Qutubud-din and on the events that took place in the beginning of his reign[68] Yet another famous masnawi of Khusrau is *Ashiqa* describing the love affairs of Khizr Khan, son of King Alauddin, and Deval Rani, daughter of Raja of Gujarat The masnawi contains 4300 couplets till the description of the death of Khizr Khan, to which Khusrau has added a few couplets[69] The *Suz-o-Gudaz* of Nau'i Khabushani is modelled after the *Ashiqa* of Khusrau[70]

Another masnawi of Khusrau composed in the metre of *Shirin wa Khusrau* is entitled *Tughlaq Namah* describing the conquests of Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq The poem was left incomplete by Khusrau, and it was completed by Hayati of Gilan, a poet of Jahangir's court Hayati says in his versified introduction.[71]

تاریخ هزار و نوزده سال   که می زد بخت بر دولت همی فال

In the succeeding couplets he tells us that the poem was left incomplete by Khusrau and that he brought it to completion Hayati also added a prose introduction to the *Tughlaq Nama* This poet had also served Akhar and Khan Khanan and passed away in 1028 A H. (1618 AD)[72]

Khusrau has also left three works in prose, the most important being *Khazain-ul-Futuh* It is a history of Alauddin Khalji (695-715 A H) (1295-1315 AD) and is also called *Tarikh-e-Ala'i*. Khusrau modelled this work after the *Taj-ul-Maathir* of Hasan Dehlavi[73]

His another prose-work *Rasail-ul-Ijaz* or *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* deals with the principles of grammer and prose-writing The work, divided into three volumes was completed in 719 A H (1319 AD).[74]

The third prose work of Khusrau is called *Afzal-ul-Fawaid* containing the sayings of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya[75] Sa'id

Nafici[76] regards the prose works of Khusrau as the master-pieces of the seventh century prose, and praises its style and richness

Khusrau enjoyed great reverence at the hand of posterity, and most of the later poets studied his poetry and imitated his style Jami (d 898 A H) (1492 AD) is one of those who deeply admired the poetry of Khusrau Jami also planned his diwans like his illustrious predecessor and named his diwans *Fatihat-ush-Shabab, Wasitat-ul-Iqd,* and *Khatimat-ul-Hayat*[77] Jami also composed a qasida after that of Khusrau and entitled it *Lujjat-ul-Asrar* He says towards the end of this qasida[78]

هیچو بکر فکر خسرو زاده است از لطف طبع   در کمال خوبی این یک خواهر آن یک خواهر است

(The virgins of my poetry and of Khusrau are as akin as two sisters Both of them have given birth to novelty)

Another qasida of Jami entitled *Jila-ur-Ruh* was composed after the famous quasidas of Khaqani and Khusrau Jami says in it:[79]

سخن آن بود کز اول نهاد استاد خاقانی   به مهمان خانهٔ گیتی پی دانشوران خوانش

(Khaqani is the first master who spread the table of his poetry to entertain the intellectuals)

چو در سیر معانی یافت خسرو سوی آن خوان ره   ملاحت های وی افکند شوری در نمکدانش

(But when Khusrau found his way to the table of Khaqani, he added its deliciousness with his own sweet words)

Even in his ghazals, Jami refers over and again to Khusrau and remembers him for his sweet, delicate and powerful poetry For instance.[80]

جامی ترا کمال بس است این طریق خاص   در طور شعر خسرو و نظم حسن صحیح

(This perfection is enough for Jami that he imitates Khusrau and Hasan in his poetry).

دیده چو جای بلند پایه خسرو   بیهده در معرض جواب درآمد

(Jami realises very well that Khusrau is too high to be imitated, yet he indulges in his vain efforts)

جامی از خسرو همی گیرد طریق سوز و درد   طور او نبود خیالات محال انگیختن

(The pathetic poetry of Jami finds its inspiration from Khusrau, otherwise it is impossible for him to have such impossible ideas)

Jami also pays his tributes to Khusrau in his masnawis He says, for instance, in *Laila wa Majnun*[81]

هرچند که پیش ازین دو استاد — در ملک سخن بلند بنیاد
در نکته‌وری زبان گشادند — داد سخن اندر آن بدادند
از گنجه چو گنج آن گهر ریز — در هند چو طوطی این شکرریز

(Two great masters of the realm of poetry have composed the story with all its fineness and admiration One of them scattered his gems from Ganja and the other sang like a sweet parrot in India)

In short, it may be said that Khusrau is one of the richest contributors of Persian language and literature and the Indo-Iranian culture would always be proud of his great personality

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Chronological Table

LIFE AND WORKS OF AMIR KHUSRAU

Year A.D.	Age	Important Events (Political & others)	Important Events (in Khusrau's Life)	Literary Works of Amir Khusrau
1253	0	7th year of Nasirud-din Mahmud's reign.	Born at Patiali in Dist. Etah (U.P.) Patiali was then known as Mominabad or Mominpur.	..
1254	1	..	..	..
1255	2	Birth of Amir Hasan Sajzi at Badaun.	..	..
1256	3	..	..	..
1257	4	..	..	..
1258	5	Sack of Baghdad by Halaku Khan (*Zilhaj* 655 H). Assassination of Khalifa Mustasim Billah (*Mohurram* 656 H). End of Abbasid Khilafat. Mewati insurgents crushed south of Delhi.	..	..
1259	6	..	..	..
1260	7	Completion of the book *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* by Qazi Minhaj Siraj. Arrival of Halaku Khan's ambassador at the court of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.	Khusrau goes to school. Death of Khusrau's father Amir Saif-ud-din Mahmood.	..
1261	8	..	..	..

Year A.D.	Age	Important Events (Political & others)	Important Events (in Khusrau's Life)	Literary Works of Amir Khusrau
1262	9	..	..	..
1263	10	..	..	..
1264	11	..	..	..
1265	12	Birth of Dante.	..	..
1266	13	Death of Baba Farid Ganje Shakar (5th *Mohurram* 664 H.)	..	Early poems composed at the encouragement of his teacher Khwaja Alla-ud-din.
1267	14	..	..	..
1268	15	..	..	..
1269	16	..	..	Composed poems which he later considered worthy enough for inclusion in his diwan.
1270	17	..	..	..
1271	18	..	..	Compiled the first diwan *Tuhfat-us-Sighr*.
1272	19	Military bases at Lahore strengthened to resist Mongol attacks from Ghazni.	..	..
1273	20	Death of Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi (born 30-9-1207 died 18-12-1273)	Death of maternal grandfather and guardian Imadul Mulk. Joins the court of Balban's nephew Malik Allaud-din Kishli Khan alias Malik Chajju.	..

1274	21	Death of St. Thomas Aquinas	..	..
1275	22		..	..
1276	23	Birth of Sheikh Nasir-ud-din Chirag Dehlavi (born 675 H. died 18th *Ramzan* 757H)	Joins the court of Balban's younger son Bughra Khan, the then governor of Samana near Multan.	..
1277	24	Tughral revolts at Lakhnauti in Bengal.	..	..
1278	25	Taghral's revolt crushed.	Accompanies Bughra Khan on his Lakhnauti campaign.	..
1279	26	..	..	..
1280	27	..	..	..
1281	28	..	Joins the court of Balban's eldest son Mohammed at Multan. Beginning of friendship with Amir Hasan Sajzi.	..
1282	29	..	..	..
1283	30	..	..	Compiled the second diwan *Wasat-ul-Hayat*.
1284	31	..	..	..
1285	32	Prince Mohmmed dies in an encounter with the Mongols (March 1285)	Captured by Mongols near the river Ravi. Manages to escape after much suffering.	..
1286	33	Accession of Muizz-ud-din Kaiqubad	Joins the service of Amir Ali Sarjandar (Hatim Khan), governor of Oudh.	..

Year A.D.	Age	Important Events (Political & others)	Important Events (in Khusrau's Life)	Literary Works of Amir Khusrau
1287	34	..	..	..
1288	35	Reconciliation of Kaiqubad with his father Bughra Khan (6th Feb.)	Comes back from Oudh and joins the Royal Court of Delhi.	..
1289	36	..	..	After three months' hard work completes his first historical masnavi *Quiranu's-Sa'dain.*
1290	37	Death of Kaiqubad. Jalal-ud-din Khalji captures the throne of Delhi.	Appointed Mushafdar at the Court of Delhi.	..
1291	38	Marco Polo arrives at the coast of southern India.	..	The second historical masnavi *Maftahul Futuh* completed (2nd *Jamadi-us-Sani* 690 H.)
1292	39	Death of Sheikh Sa'di Shirazi (b 575 H. d 691 H.)	..	..
1293	40	..	..	..
1294	41	Annexation of Elachpur	..	Completed his third diwan *Ghurratu'l Kamal.*
1295	42	..	..	..
1296	43	Death of Jalal-ud-din Khalji. Alaud-din Khalji captures the throne of Delhi. (24 *Zilhaj* 695)	..	..
1297	44	..	Birth of his son Ain-ud-din.	..
1298	45	..	..	..

1299	46	Conquest of Gujarat ?	Death of his mother and his brother Mubarak Qutlagh	Composed the three masnavis *Matla-ul-Anwar*, *Shirin wa Khusrau* and *Majnuwa Laila*.
1300	47	..	..	..
1301	48	Conquest of Ranthambhor	..	Composed the masnavi *Aina-e-Sikandari*.
1302	49	Malik Kafur begins his attacks on Deccan. Defeat of Mongol invadors.	Birth of his daughter Afifa.	Composed the masnavi *Hasht Bihisht*.
1303	50	Chittor campaign	Accompanies the King on his Chittor campaign.	..
1304	51	Conquest of Chittor	..	..
1305	52	..	..	..
1306	53	Conquest of Malwa.	..	..
1307	54	Devagiri campaign headed by Malik Kafur.	..	..
1308	55	..	..	..
1309	56	..	..	..
1310	57	Conquest of Telangana by Malik Kafur.	Initiated as disciple of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya.	..
1311	58	Conquest of eastern coastal areas.	..	Wrote *Khazainl-Futuh*.
1312	59	Malik Kafur returns to Delhi after glorious victories in the Deccan.	..	..
1313	60	..	..	..
1314	61	Ala-ud-din Khalji gets his relatives killed at the instigation of Malik Kafur.	..	..
1315	62	Death of Ala-ud-din Khalji (7th *Shawwal*, 715 H.) Death of Malik Kafur.	..	Completed the masnavi *Deval Rani Khizr Khan* (*Ziqad*, 715 H.).
1316	63	Accession of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Khalji (24th *Mohurram*, 716 H).	..	Compiled the diwan *Baqiyya-Naqiyya*.

Year A.D.	Age	Important Events (Political & others)	Important Events (in Khusrau's Life)	Literary Works of Amir Khusrau
1317	64	..	..	..
1318	65	..	..	Completed his fourth historical masnavi *Nuh-Sipihr* (*Jamadi-ul-Awwal*, 718 H.)
1319	66	..	..	Compilation of *Afzal-ul-Fawaed* the teachings of Hazarat Nizamuddin Auliya, completed. Also wrote *Ijaz-e-Khusravi*.
1320	67	..	..	..
1321	68	Death of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq defeats Khusrau Khan and captures the throne of Delhi.	..	..
1322	69	..	Accompanies Prince Ulagh Khan on his Devagiri campaign.	..
1323	70	..	..	..
1324	71	..	Accompanies Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq on his Lakhnauti and Oudh campaign.	..
1325	72	Death of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq. Accession of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Death of Hazarat Nizamuddin Auliya at the age of 95 (3rd April/18th *Rabi-ul-Aakhir* 725 H.)	Death of Amir Khusrau (27th Sept./18th *Shawwal*, 725 H.).	Composed his fifth historical masnavi *Tughlaq Nama*.
1326		Birth of Hafiz Shirazi (d. 791 H.) .	..	..
1327		Transfer of Capital from Delhi to Daulatabad.	..	..

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